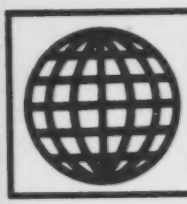

Daily Report

East Europe

FBIS-EEU-89-197
Friday
13 October 1989

Daily Report
East Europe

FBIS-EEU-89-197 *13 October 1989*

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East-West Economic Cooperation Seminar Opens

AU0210180989 Sofia BTA in English
1737 GMT 2 Oct 89

[Text] Varna, October 2 (BTA)—A two-day international seminar on the favourable prospects and the problems of joint East-West economic activities opened here today. Taking part are nearly 100 representatives of the business circles in 14 member countries of the International Institute for Applied Systems Analysis (IIASA) and the Vienna Forum, as well as senior officials of the UN Economic Commission for Europe, the UN Industrial Development Organization, the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, the International Labour Organization and the All-Union Scientific Research Institute of Foreign Economic Relations in the USSR.

They focus on the national priorities and the market opportunities to set up joint ventures, the legal regulation of the economy, the conditions for a transition to currency convertibility and for the mitigation of the negative effects of inconvertibility.

A greetings message to the seminar from Mr Andrey Lukanov, Bulgaria's minister of foreign economic relations, notes the importance of the restructuring underway in the socialist countries for the development and strengthening of East-West economic cooperation. The efforts are channeled into the development of a highly advanced society opened to all innovation and securing material and intellectual prosperity for the sake of building a common European home and of progress in the world.

The speakers, who included Mr Robert Pry, director of IIASA, and Prof Igor Faminskiy, director of the All-Union Scientific Research Institute of Foreign Economic Relations, discussed the problems of East-West business cooperation without avoiding the sharp edges.

The exchange of experience on the national joint venture legislations brought out the common elements in the approaches and concepts of their role and importance and thus provided a starting point for the search of mutually acceptable solutions.

Further on Trade Seminar

AU0410083689 Sofia BTA in English
2121 GMT 3 Oct 89

["East-West: Optimism Over Business Relations"—BTA headline]

[Text] Varna, October 3 (BTA)—About 100 representatives of the business circles of 14 countries, members of the International Institute of Applied and System Analysis (IIASA) and the Vienna forum, as well as responsible figures of international organizations, including specialized bodies of the United Nations, expressed their support for the policy of promoting East-West economic relations.

At the international two-day seminar on the subject of "Favourable Prospects and Problems of Joint East-West Economic Activity" organized by the IIASA in Varna it was pointed out that there are possibilities for the promotion of economic contacts among countries of different social orders.

The possibilities and the difficulties of East-West economic relations were also discussed at the seminar. A stress was laid on joint enterprises as a higher, but not the only one, form of conducting cooperation. There was an animated discussion on the question of the national priorities and legal practices, on the possibility to make the socialist countries' national currencies convertible.

The summing up showed the presence of a certain planlessness in setting up joint enterprises (about 1,500 according to data released by the UN Economic Commission for Europe). They are not distributed by branches in the most viable way. Their number does not present the real picture of the situation, because only a few are functioning at present. Nevertheless it is considered that the steps are made in the true direction and thus, on the move, the obstacles can be seen and removed.

Some serious problems arouse in connection with the question of the convertibility of the socialist countries' national currencies and the participants in the seminar adopted a decision to hold a special seminar on the matter.

The representatives of the business circles pointed out that by going deep in the problems of East-West economic cooperation, by conducting an open and constructive discussion on its problems, new vistas for interaction will be opened.

World Shipping Agents Congress Opens in Sofia

AU0710201789 Sofia BTA in English
1833 GMT 7 Oct 89

[Excerpt] Sofia, October 7 (BTA)—The 21st World Congress of the International Federation of Freight Forwarders Associations (FIATA), the largest nongovernment association in the world, started today.

This international event is hosted by "Despred," which is the Bulgarian Shipping Association.

Bulgaria has been a member of FIATA since 1967.

The Sofia forum of shipping agents differs from the former ones in the record number of participants, representatives of 59 countries from all continents. The meetings which will continue till October 10 will be subjected to the major topic of the congress: "The Shipping Agent as a Mediator Between the East and the West."

The first day was dedicated to the electronic transmission of data. The aim of the congress is to promote the establishment and dissemination of the new unified rules for behaviour at exchange of trade data with the help of teletransmissions.

One of the electronic connections will be between the Bulgarian "Pravets" and "Apple" when all shipping agents contact the computer connection.

The task which FIATA is facing in the 1990's and in the beginning of the next century is to exchange in that way the whole voluminous documentation, supplementing trade transactions and shipment of goods. [passage omitted]

Congress Ends 10 Oct

AU1010174489 Sofia BTA in English 1620 GMT 10 Oct 89

[Excerpt] Sofia, October 10 (BTA)—Speaking at a news conference here today, the leaders of the International Federation of Freight Forwarders Associations (FIATA) expressed satisfaction with the proceedings of the organisations's just ended 21st World Congress.

A special symposium was held within the congress to discuss the role of forwarders in invigorating East-West cooperation, said Mr Jiri Kadanik of Czechoslovakia, ex-FIATA President, and Mr Curt Stjernloef of Sweden, the newly elected president. They said that FIATA will make more active efforts to secure an efficient system for electronic data exchange among all 68 national forwarders' organizations in the 56 countries which belong to FIATA. Apart from this, the federation has over 1,600 forwarding organisations across the world as members. [passage omitted]

FRG Environment Minister Welcomes Ecoforum

AU1010214189 Sofia BTA in English 1935 GMT 10 Oct 89

[Text] Bonn, October 10 (BTA correspondent)—"I expect that the Sofia environment forum, which will be called under the Viennese concluding document of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, will give a specific impetus to further, more vigorous action to prevent and mitigate the international effects of industrial accidents and the pollution of international rivers and lakes and will promote environmentally safe technologies for potentially hazardous substances," said Prof Dr Klaus Topfer, minister for environment, nature conservation and reactor safety of the FRG, in an exclusive interview for the BTA.

Prof Topfer will lead his country's delegation to the CSCE environmental protection meeting, due to open in Sofia on October 16. In his view, the Sofia forum is a marvelous venue for the exchange of information and for consultations. It provides a golden opportunity to coordinate common nature conservation ideas and action at a Europe-wide level. "I expect particular new impetus to the drafting of appropriate agreements in this field in the context of East-West relations," Prof Klaus Topfer emphasized.

In Sofia the FRG will suggest a package of measures to mitigate the international effects of industrial accidents, including regulations enforceable not only to the respective authorities but to the owners of the hazardous facilities, too.

Prof Klaus Topfer indicated the need to introduce international controls over the potentially hazardous chemicals which are already on sale and which will go into production.

"I believe that the pollution control of international rivers and lakes presupposes the signing of a convention covering the national obligations of each country in this field, as well as rules for the formation of international commissions by the states concerned to monitor the cleanup of international rivers and lakes," the West German minister stressed.

Honecker Greets Ninth IPPNW Congress

AU1110161789 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 6 Oct 89 p 6

[ND report: "GDR In Favor of Complete Elimination of All Nuclear Weapons"]

[Text] East Berlin—Erich Honecker, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany and chairman of the GDR State Council, has sent the following greetings message to Sumio Sugimoto, president of the Ninth International Congress of the "International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War" [IPPNW] association, which will start in Hiroshima on the weekend [7-8 October]:

Esteemed Mr President,

On behalf of the State Council, the government, and the citizens of the GDR, I convey cordial greetings to you and to all participants in the Ninth International IPPNW Congress, and wish you much success in your work.

The time and place of your important medical forum are an urgent admonition that the decisive task of the present is to save the world from a nuclear inferno.

Today, more than ever before, the fate of Hiroshima and Nagasaki is an eternal obligation for all reasonable and realistic forces of the world to cooperate for the safeguarding of peace, arms limitation, and disarmament, and for improving the international situation. Only in this way will it be possible to solve the other global problems, too.

With their work, which is highly valued in our country, the physicians united in the IPPNW have essentially contributed to mobilizing the peace forces. Like the IPPNW, the GDR advocates with determination the complete elimination all nuclear weapons from our planet. Therefore, one must not relent in the initiated-

disarmament process, in both in the nuclear and conventional spheres. I share the view of the physicians that no break must be permitted in treating the nuclear disease and that radical steps are necessary to prevent the "last epidemic."The conclusion of a treaty between the USSR and the United States as soon as possible on the halving of the strategic offensive weapons is urgently necessary. The ban on all nuclear tests remains a key issue of disarmament, for which the IPPNW, with the "Cease-Fire" campaign, is constantly mobilizing the public. Further zero-options for nuclear weapons, the establishment of nuclear-free zones, the elimination of chemical weapons, and steps toward conventional disarmament, toward confidence-building measures, and toward measures that promote security are necessary.

Since its founding on 7 October 1949, the GDR has made an active contribution to the safeguarding of peace. Through unilateral reductions in its Armed Forces, armaments, and its defense budget, it has made important advance moves. Its peace policy concurs with the view of the physicians and of the other peace forces.

Fifty years after the beginning of World War II, which was unleashed by Hitlerite fascism, 44 years after the dropping of the nuclear bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki, I may assure the world forum of physicians in the IPPNW that the State Council, the Government, and the citizens of the GDR, loyal to their historical obligation, will do everything so that war will never again start from German soil. In the future, too, they will use all their strength for a nuclear-free, peaceful, and secure world and will reliably stand at the side of the IPPNW and the worldwide peace movement in this common struggle for the survival of mankind.

Sincerely,

E. Honecker.

International Space Consultation Held in Prague

AU2609235789 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 22 Sep 89 p 2

[Text] Prague (CTK)—A session of the consultative group of the world space agencies, the IACG, began in Prague on Thursday [21 September]. The session is attended by representatives of four space agencies—Interkosmos (the socialist states), NASA (the United States), ESA (the West European states), and ISAS (Japan).

On the agenda of the 2-day deliberations are issues connected with deepening international cooperation in scientific space research projects, which address the problems of the sun-earth relationship. Scientists are discussing various possiblities of making use of the satellites that have already been launched, or of satellites that are being prepared for scientific research of, especially, physical actions between the sun and the earth. More than 30 satellites will participate in those experiments between now and the year 1997.

World Scientific Workers' Body Holds Meeting

AU0710161889 Sofia BTA in English 1539 GMT 7 Oct 89

["Significant International Forum"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, October 7 (BTA)—The General Assembly of the World Federation of Scientific Workers which unites representatives of over 1 million scholars from all over the world ended in this country. Delegations of 39 countries from Europe, Asia, Africa and Latin America participated in an international symposium on "International Cooperation for Disarmament, Development and Environment Protection".

New managing bodies of the World Federation were elected. Among the new deputy chairmen of the Executive Council is Aleksandur Yankov, corresponding member of the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences, professor in law, chairman of the Committee for Science and Higher Education and chairman of the Union of Scientific Workers in Bulgaria.

Bush's Baltimore Foreign Policy Speech Criticized

AU1110095689 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1430 GMT 10 Oct 89

[Frederik Mikeli commentary]

[Summary from poor reception] In a speech to members of his Republican Party in Baltimore, U.S. President George Bush praised the United States as a country whose foreign policy serves world peace.

It is however a fact that a military coup was attempted recently in Panama, prepared and encouraged by none other than the United States. Thus, there is no great difference between Bush's policies and those of his predecessor, Reagan.

A great deal of noise has arisen following Bush's proposals for reductions of conventional forces in Europe and of chemical weapons, yet here again there is no real change from the Reagan years. In reality, there has been no improvement in Europe, which remains encumbered with United States and Soviet arsenals. As for chemical weapons, the United States had supposedly committed itself to the destruction of a large percentage of its chemical weapons. However, facts testify to the opposite. THE WASHINGTON POST reports that President Bush has decided to continue the production of new chemical weapons, even after signing the international treaty for their abolition. Thus, the foreign policy of the United States does not serve peace, as Bush claims, but intervention, aggression, and preparations for war.

Growing Pluralism in East Europe Deplored

AU1110121089 Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 4 Oct 89 p 3-4

[Prof Dr Vangjel Moisiu article: "What Is This Pluralism Offered by the Bourgeoisie?"]

[Text] The analysis made at the Eighth Albanian Workers Party Central Committee Plenum of the savage campaign of the modern revisionists to revise to nothingness the teachings of Marxism-Leninism on the party and socialism stressed that the revisionists have gone so far as to adopt frankly bourgeois theories on political and ideological pluralism, as has happened in the Soviet Union, Poland, Hungary, and elsewhere. Bourgeois and revisionist theoreticians and politicians write and speak against the socialist order as "totalitarian democracy," against the communist party's leading role and the dictatorship of the proletariat as "antidemocratic, inhuman, and unhistorical dogmas in mankind's current situation." A whole propaganda campaign has erupted with slogans praising political pluralism and the multiparty system as factors supposedly guaranteeing the values of real and genuine democracy.

A new program to publicize the bourgeois practice of political pluralism has begun in revisionist countries. This anticommunist campaign over political pluralism has been particularly widespread in such revisionist countries as the Soviet Union, Poland, Hungary, etc. The phenomenon is easily explicable, for it stems inevitably from the reforms and capitalist economic mechanisms introduced in revisionist countries a long time ago. These processes demand a parallel reshaping of political superstructures, the system, and political mechanisms as a whole. The countries where capitalist reforms have been carried out, where capitalism was restored a long time ago, and where a social and class structure with implicit antagonisms has taken shape are moving toward political pluralism and a multiparty system in order to respond to the interests of the various ruling classes and to deceive the broad working masses. World imperialism also uses every means to encourage and support these capitalist processes in the revisionist countries.

Political pluralism is the logical end of perseverance in the revisionist counterrevolution, a testimony to and proof of the capitalist processes that were introduced long ago and are now taking deeper root. Years ago, we noticed the capitalist features of the reforms of the sixties, and we can now see a thorough and complete reimposition of capitalism in all these countries' economic, political, and social structures.

Socialism does not imply pluralism in the economy, in politics, or in ideology, and pluralism is not part of its nature. The phenomena of political pluralism, the multiparty system, and creeping bureaucracy are the inevitable spawn of the capitalist order. The need to overcome the difficulties and crises that this system encounters dictates the need for such models of political superstructure.

Political pluralism is not and cannot be a feature of socialism. The existence of a multitude of reactionary parties is against socialism. Attempts to create and sustain many political parties under socialism contradict the basic principles of socialism and Marxist-Leninist theory. The socialist order of society and socialist democracy are founded on the alliance of two friendly social classes and the political system of this social order is managed by a strong and monolithic party and a centralized state that express and defend the aspirations of the working people.

Real and genuine democracy is be defined by the number of parties and their size, but by the role played and the rights enjoyed by the working masses in society.

Multiparty systems created by the bourgeoisie have long existed in Western capitalist countries and in the United States, but this institutionalization of political pluralism is not in any sense a testimony to the existence of genuine democracy. These bourgeois parties, whatever they may be called, whether liberal, conservative, christian-democratic, republican, social-democratic, or radical, which change places with each other in forming governments under the bourgeois order, have brought no positive or essential changes to bourgeois democracy, which remains opposed to the people and merely benefits the dominant capitalist class. Political pluralism in

capitalist countries is not in any sense a sign of the genuine democracy of the working masses, because the bourgeois parties represent and defend the interests of different groups of the bourgeoisie.

It is socialist democracy which is the most genuine, humane, and popular form of democracy. The existence of other parties alongside a ruling communist party might be acceptable and justified at a time when the economic basis for socialism still does not exist, when various different forms and sectors of property still exist, and when socialist relations still do not prevail everywhere during a transitional period of change, or, in other words, under certain circumstances. However, the creation of the economic base for socialism and changes in the class composition of society make the existence of many political parties unnecessary. Socialist production relations do not give rise to opposing interests between the two friendly and constructive classes in socialism (the workers and the peasantry). There is therefore no need or reason for many political parties. The socialist social order guarantees all the working people in the town and countryside the opportunity to express and achieve all their interests, desires, and aspirations through the mass organizations in society and representative bodies, including the leading party, which include the finest representatives of the classes and strata of socialist society.

Let us look at certain features of the political pluralism in revisionist countries and the direction they are taking.

In political and academic circles in Poland, there is much talk about the path of "socialist parliamentary democracy" and "the disintegration of Polish communism." Reformist leaders and "Solidarity" characters are trying to reject "the totalitarian legacy" of the party and to "restore a parliamentary democracy." Janusz Reykowski, a Politburo reformist, has said outright that "The party needs to change its name, because Poles identify it with the economic and political crisis, with Stalinism and bureaucracy, and with arrogant and incompetent authorities." Developments in Poland show the deepening crisis of revisionism, the degeneration of Polish pseudosocialism, and the strengthening of the capitalist order which began to be introduced a long time ago.

Discussions of political pluralism have become widespread in leading circles amd sociopolitical organizations in Hungary. Radical Hungarian reformists are heading straight for multiparty democracy. A statement of "Democratic Forum," the strongest opposition group, stresses the need to create a Hungarian socialist party or socialist democratic party. They seek the abolition of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party and the creation of other moderate parties with new reformist programs. The reformist Imre Pozsgay, one of the main party leaders, states: "The party must change, radically change in order to avoid a future government crisis which could lead to the victory of the opposition... The dissolution of the party would not be a catastrophe."

Although the opposition political and groups in Hungary still do not have the legal status of parties (a law to legalize parties is to be passed by parliament), they take an active part in political life and local elections.

The multiparty system in Hungary has existed in practice since the beginning of this year. Work is now starting in Hungary to draw up a new constitution which will sanction the existence of many political parties and a presidential system which will ensure a division between state and party.

About 30 independent political groups have been created in Hungary in recent years. Some of them have evolved into political organizations with frankly anticommunist tendencies. Karoly Grosz recently stated that "The principle of pluralism in the party implies that a change of the social system in Hungary cannot be ruled out...." Grosz made this statement in Moscow, in Gorbachev's presence.

The press in the Soviet Union and other revisionist countries also discusses political pluralism as a whole and in its various aspects. The winds of pluralism and glasnost have fanned "democratic" tendencies and political organizations on the condition that they "operate on the principles of socialism." Even though the Gorbachevite leadership states that "We have no need today to discuss a multiparty system, because the single-party system represents our historical experience," opposition groups supporting social-democratic ideas have been created, once again within the context of glasnost.

These discussions of and practical steps toward political pluralism are aspects of the degenerative processes in the political superstructures of revisionist states. They have nothing to do with strengthening democracy and the socialist order, which were undermined in these countries years ago when the revisionists came to power. The importance in Marxist-Leninist theory of maintaining the party's leading role as a precondition for successfully carrying socialism forward is clear. At his speech to the Eighth Plenum of the Albanian Workers Party Central Committee, Comrade Ramiz Alia stressed: "We will never abandon the leading role of our Marxist-Leninist party, and will never permit it to be weakened in the name of the so-called pluralism offered to us by the bourgeoisie."

Alia Greets Honecker on 40th GDR Anniversary

AU0610200289 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1900 GMT 6 Oct 89

[Text] Comrade Ramiz Alia, chairman of the Presidium of the People's Assembly of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, has sent the following telegram to Erich Honecker, chairman of the Council of State of the German Democratic Republic:

The 40th anniversary of the founding of the German Democratic Republic, which represents one of the most memorable events in the history of the German people,

gives me the pleasure, in the name of the Albanian people, the Presidium of the People's Assembly, and personally, to convey to you sincere greetings and to wish happiness and prosperity to the people of the German Democratic Republic.

I avail myself of this opportunity to convey to you our wish that the 40 years-old relations between the People's Socialist Republic of Albania and the German Democratic Republic may develop further in the interest of both our countries, peace, and general security.

Malile Activities at UNGA Reported

Speaks at Session

AU1010100789 Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 3 Oct 89 p 4

[Speech by Foreign Minister Reis Malile at the 44th UN General Assembly session in New York on 1 Oct: "Albania's Fully Independent Policy Has Made and Continues to Make a Useful Contribution to the Cause of Security and Peace"]

[Text] ATA— Albania, with its entirely independent policy, is making a truly valuable contribution to the cause of peace and security. This is from the speech of Comrade Reis Malile, head of the delegation of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, at the 44th Session of the UN General Assembly.

Reis Malile, minister of foreign affairs and head of the delegation of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, took the floor at the UN General Assembly today, and said among other things:

The Albanian delegation is of the view that the current international situation is complex. In many cases, developments are as contradictory as they are fluid and unstable. They are marked by reduced tensions in some areas, and increased tension in others, while the solution of a problem in one region is accompanied by the emergence and exacerbation of problems elsewhere. The current political dialogue in the relations between the two superpowers, which has found tangible expression in agreements between them on some slight reductions in armaments or in steps toward extinguishing the fires of some regional conflicts, have led to a relative reduction of tension. Efforts are frequently made to portray this tendency as a radical turning point in modern international relations, or an irreversible trend toward a new epoch of international peace and security. Past experience and current developments force us to assert that the present relaxation of tension between the United States and the Soviet Union gives no guarantee that the danger of war has been averted. Under various pretexts, cases of interference in the internal affairs of others have been on the increase, and tilting the balance could have incalculable consequences.

Albania is in favor of an improved atmosphere and reduced tension in Europe, and stronger peace and security on our continent. Views on attaining this goal may differ, but it is essential that the policies and activities of each state should help to reach it. For its part, the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, pursuing an entirely independent foreign policy separately from all blocs, and not permitting the presence of foreign bases and troops on its territory, is performing a valuable service to the cause of peace and security in Europe.

In the field of disarmament, too, the agreements between the two superpowers have been minimal, and have not affected the enormous arsenals of weapons of all kinds at their disposal. Statements with imposing proposals and counterproposals that talk about major reductions in strategic weapons of up to 50 percent fail to conceal the continuing arms race with its production of new generations of more modern and sophisticated weapons. We can go so far as to say that the distinction between nuclear and conventional weapons is almost blurred, as far as their degree of danger is concerned. We believe that the problems of disarmament can be confronted and put on the road toward solution by the common and individual efforts of all states.

At a time when the arms race is still continuing, when hotbeds of tensions and crises have still not cooled, the interests of peace call for tangible measures toward disarmament, the dissolution of political and military blocs, the removal of foreign bases, the return of foreign armies to within their own borders, and an end of interference in the internal affairs of other states.

From time to time, the superpowers in particular launch assorted political theories and doctrines which also include ideas and models which they seek to impose on others, describing them as almost universal criteria for the development of democratic processes, and trying to make them, in one way or another, conditions for relations between states.

Albania holds the view that peoples and states must feel free to choose their own paths of sovereign development, maintain their national identity, and play their appropriate role in the course of world events.

There is no doubt that the international community is concerned to avoid regional conflicts and crises, because they constitute hotbeds of tensions which are fanned and manipulated by others to the detriment of the interests of the peoples. Therefore, those parties who are directly involved and interested, not outside forces, should participate in their final settlement. Opportunistic settlements, especially those imposed from abroad, cannot be lasting. The formula of "national conciliation," applied on the instructions of the superpowers, leaves the door open for intervention and destabilization, as the case of Afghanistan shows. There must be an end to intervention in Central America and Southeast Asia, and settlements must be found in accordance with the aspirations of the peoples concerned, in the interests of their independent development and of peace. The Korean people

must likewise not be hindered in achieving the unification of their homeland without intervention from abroad.

As a Mediterranean country, Comrade Reis Malile said later, Albania considers that every step toward the creation of a favorable political climate demands that the Mediterranean should be freed from the fleets and warships of the superpowers. This step would help to turn the Mediterranean into a sea of peace and friendship among the peoples on its shores, and a bridge of cooperation with other parts of the world.

When we mention the Mediterranean, we cannot help thinking about Lebanon, which is undergoing a real tragedy. A protracted fratricidal war has been imposed on this country by Israel and forces of reaction. It is the task of the Lebanese people themselves to establish their own national unity in a sovereign fashion. In the Middle East, the Arab people have been fighting imperialist-Zionist aggression for decades. The heroic struggle of the Palestinian people has been outstanding in this area, bearing witness to the dauntless efforts of a brave people who cannot be conquered by violence, tanks, or the aggressor's genocide.

The Albanian people and their government, who have always felt themselves close to the fraternal Arab peoples in their just struggle, consider the proclamation and international recognition of the Palestinian state as a very important development that offers greater opportunities for the solution of this key problem of the Middle East. The Albanian unreservedly support as a just struggle the uprising of the Palestinian people, "intifadah," which has now lasted for almost 2 years. They have also welcomed the positive steps toward stronger unity in the Arab world and consider this unity to be a decisive factor for a just solution to the Palestinian problem and to the Middle East crisis as a whole.

Among the developments and efforts to find political solutions to conflicts and hotbeds of tension, the agreements for a ceasefire in Angola and for Namibian independence cannot fail to significantly influence the general situation in the south of the African continent. The Albanian delegation condemns the crimes and violence of the South African regime, which continues to persist in its hated colonial policy of racial discrimination.

The Albanian people support the countries of Africa in their just struggle against imperialist and neocolonialist oppression, and support the efforts of the OAU to strengthen the unity and support the struggle of the Azanian people against the hated South African apartheid regime, this anachronism of our age, which is a serious challenge to the whole of mankind.

Looking back over world developments since the last session of the UN General Assembly, Comrade Reis Malile said later, we can see a deterioration in interethnic conflicts in some countries, whose negative effects also percolate beyond national borders. Multiethnic states are a reality in the modern world, and cannot talk about real democracy as long as they fail to achieve democratic relations among their own peoples, nationalities, and minorities. If a deterioration in interethnic relations can be observed today, this is because these states have not followed the right path regarding the national question.

Albania has always held the view that minorities, wherever they live, should enjoy equal rights with other sections of the population of a country, in accordance with the rules of international law. We have always held that the minorities should be important factors of rapprochement and friendship between peoples and states.

A process of cooperation has recently begun among the countries of the Balkans. Last year's meeting of the foreign ministers of the Balkan countries was followed by a series of other activities of a political, economic, scientific, and technical nature. This process represents a positive tendency corresponding to the basic interests of the peoples of the peninsula, as well as to the cause of peace in the region and in Europe. The peoples of the peninsula hope for and need peace, understanding, cooperation, and friendship, not destabilization and animosity.

The Albanian Government will work tirelessly for the further continuation, progress, and consolidation of this process. We hope and desire that the other Balkan countries will act on the same basis, overcoming certain recent developments that run counter to the spirit of understanding and the commitments made in the context of Balkan cooperation.

Albania has not interfered and does not intend to interfere in the internal affairs of others. However, impelled by a sincere concern for the consolidation of Balkan cooperation and trust, by a moral right, and by the democratic and humane considerations enshrined in the UN Charter itself and in other international documents, Albania cannot fail to point out that the tragic events that took place in Kosovo in spring this year, and the still-continuing repressions against the Albanians and their democratic and national rights, conflict with every principle of freedom, democracy, and social and cultural emancipation. The Albanian people and Government, like the rest of world public opinion, including sound public opinion in Yugoslavia, condemns the killing and imprisonment of hundreds and thousands of Albanians who call for equal rights with all their fellow-citizens in their federal state, and who seek to preserve their autonomy, language, culture, and national traditions.

White books or black books [reference to the "White Book on Kosovo," published in Belgrade, and asserting the Serbian character of the province] can be compiled, but it remains a fact that it is tanks and policemen who lay down the law in Kosovo. Since the constitutional amendments, the number of Albanian schools has been reduced, and Kosovar intellectuals and young people have been persecuted. What is called differentiation,

which is a form of isolation, and an unprecedented and inhuman kind of moral, economic, and political ostracism, has affected the best-known intellectuals, academics, and teachers, and has even included schoolchildren.

Albania has been and remains directly concerned in the stabilization of the situation in Yugoslavia, because the two countries' freedom and independence are linked together. Any evil in one country affects the other. The normalization of the situation in Kosovo, the national and economic emancipation of the Albanians in Yugoslavia, who make up a community of about 3 million inhabitants, and their equal rights with the other peoples and nationalities of the federation, would help to strengthen Yugoslavia itself.

The interests of the peoples of the region demand that the bitter legacy of the past should be overcome, that no fresh difficulties should be added, and that real efforts should be made to improve the friendly atmosphere and strengthen fruitful cooperation.

As has been announced, a second meeting of the foreign ministers of Balkan countries will be held in Albania in the autumn of next year. It is our desire and conviction that this meeting, through the efforts of all the states of the region to face up to present-day realities with goodwill and wisdom, will mark a new, more advanced stage toward multilateral cooperation and the strengthening of good-neighborly relations. We consider good-neighborliness to be an expression of common obligations and the desire and interests of our peoples and countries to live in peace with one another.

Albania, which is sincerely committed to the process of Balkan cooperation, regards this cooperation as a realistic way to strengthen peace in the region. Albania believes that the Balkans, as a part of Europe that has suffered so much from quarrels, conflicts, and wars, needs peace, tranquility, and stability today more than ever, both to overcome its bitter past and its relative backwardness compared with other parts of the continent, and to demonstrate our region's concern for and contribution to positive European developments for peace.

After pointing out that world economic relations are an important aspect of the democratization of international relations which is acutely felt today, Comrade Reis Malile said that inequality in trade, the imposition of protection measures and tariff barriers, and the wide-scale use of the lever of debts by the industrialized countries have led to a deepening of the gulf between these countries and developing countries. Large debts have become a heavy burden, which is destroying the economy of developing countries. The continuing deterioration of this situation directly affects the stability of international relations, which are today more than ever before inextricably intertwined with political relations.

The demands of the developing countries, frequently referred to as "the club of the poor," but who make up the overwhelming majority of UN member states, for the establishment of equality in international economic relations are legitimate. They must be heeded, and a just settlement of them must be found.

The illicit trade and use of drugs has now become a serious problem and social blight in many countries. This phenomenon has never existed and does not exist in Albania. Besides healthy traditions and educational measures, the state has stringent laws that provide severe punishments for the illicit use, possession, or sale of narcotics. At the same time, our state has taken measures to prevent any possible trade in drugs via Albanian territory. We think that the struggle against drugs should not be used as a cloak for political designs of certain kinds.

Ecological problems have become very acute today, and the danger from environmental pollution has still further increased. It is now an acknowledged fact that it is the super-industrialized countries, as the greatest consumers and processors of raw materials, which cause the greatest ecological damage through pollution on a world scale.

The People's Socialist Republic of Albania shows the greatest concern for environmental protection in its own territory and the Adriatic region, and it joins its voice to those of other countries in rightly calling on those who are most responsible to be aware of their duty to remedy and correct this situation.

Comrade Reis Malile said in conclusion that safeguarding independence and total national sovereignty is a sacred cause for the Albanian people, who have fought for centuries for their country and for freedom, and independence.

By making the principle of independence the cornerstone of its policy, Albania has at the same time made its modest contribution to the cause of peace and security. The reality of Albania 45 years after its liberation, and the transformations and progress the country has achieved in different fields of life, are the successful result of its socialist road. We are aware that what the labor and sweat of our people have already achieved is not everything, but what is important is that we are convinced that our road is the right one, and that it presents us with the prospect of further progress.

Meets Foreign Ministers

AU0510101389 Tirana ATA in English 0935 GMT 5 Oct 89

[Text] Tirana, October 5 (ATA)—The minister of foreign affairs, Reis Malile, who leads the Albanian delegation in the proceedings of the 44th Session of the UN General Assembly, had separate meetings with the minister of foreign affairs of Spain, Francisco Fernandez-Ordonez; with the minister of foreign affairs of Iran, 'Ali Akbar Velayati; with the foreign minister of the GDR, Oskar Fischer; with the foreign minister of China, Qian Qichen; with the minister of foreign affairs of Mongolia,

Tserenpiliin Gombosuren; and with the foreign minister of Libya, Jadollah 'Aziz al-Talhi.

During the meetings, they treated of problems that have to do with the bilateral relations of our country with these countries, with the economic, trade, technical-scientific cooperation, etc. They talked also on problems of the present day international situation which are on the agenda of the 44th Session of the UN General Assembly.

Talks With Klibi, Others

AU0810151289 Tirana ATA in English 1015 GMT 8 Oct 89

[Text] Tirana, October 8 (ATA)—Recently, the foreign minister, Reis Malile, who leads the delegation of the PSR [People's Socialist Republic] of Albania in the proceedings of the 44th Session of the UN General Assembly, met with the secretary general of the Arab League, Chedli Klibi, and with the foreign minister of the Palestinian state, Faruq Qaddumi, with whom he had a cordial talk.

Comrade Reis Malile expressed to them the sentiments of fraternal friendship the Albanian people have always nourished for the Arab peoples and the Palestinian one and the full solidarity with the just struggle of the Palestinian people against the Israeli Zionist occupiers for the realization of their just cause.

In the course of the meeting the secretary general of the Arab League, Chedli Klibi, and the foreign minister of the Palestinian state, Faruq Qaddumi, highly appreciated the constant support of the Albanian Government and people for the Arab peoples and expressed the warm sentiments of fraternal friendship. Opinions were exchanged during the meeting on the current situation in the Middle East and the occupied Arab territories as well as on other international problems.

The Albanian foreign minister, Reis Malile, met at separate meetings with the deputy premier and minister of foreign affairs of Iraq, Tariq 'Aziz, and the foreign minister of Czechoslovakia, Jaromir Johanes.

Opinions were exchanged in the talks held on the occasion on the existing relations between our country and their countries. Likewise, they concentrated on the possibilities of further intensifying the cooperation in the fields of trade, culture, science, and technique. In the course of the meetings, it was also spoken on some problems of the current international situation as well as on problems under discussion at this session of the UN General Assembly.

Meets With Perez de Cuellar

AU0810145989 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1430 GMT 8 Oct 89

[Text] Reis Malile, minister of foreign affairs, who is heading the delegation of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania at the proceedings of the 44th Session of the UN General Assembly, has met Javier Perez de Cuellar, general secretary of the United Nations, at the seat of the United Nations in New York.

At the meeting, which passed in a friendly atmosphere, Perez de Cuellar expressed his appreciation of Albania's independent policy and its activities at the United Nations and in the international arena in the interests of peace and security.

Returns From New York

AU1010203889 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1900 GMT 10 Oct 89

[Text] Reiz Malile, minister of foreign affairs, who led the Albanian delegation at the 44th UN General Assembly Session, returned home today.

Interview on UNGA Session

AU1110180389 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1900 GMT 10 Oct 89

[Interview with Reiz Malile, minister of foreign affairs, by correspondent Hajdar Monika at Rinas Airport "upon his return from New York"—recorded]

[Text] [Monika] We have reported your speech at the 44th session of the UN General Assembly. Can you tell us anything more about the problems that you mentioned in that speech?

[Malile] The current session of the UN General Assembly has a very heavy agenda. [passage indistinct] It includes about 155 problems. The general debate, of course, was the main event, with the participation of 15 presidents from various countries and six prime ministers, while other delegations were led by foreign ministers.

The main problems, of course, concern the Middle East, disarmament, and regional conflicts. A number of other problems have also been put on the table. In addition, we have a number of problems of an economic nature, such as those pertaining to the relations between industrialized and developing countries, the question of debts, and so forth. The main characteristic of the general debate was that a number of [words indistinct] representatives from the smaller and medium-sized countries insisted on greater realism with regard to various political problems confronting the world. [passage indistinct] I say this in the sense that the relations between the superpowers must not be considered as the sole determining factor in international relations and in the reduction of tension. The key problems confronting the developing countries are not considered [words indistinct]. They are not considered as such [words indistinct] although those countries are, of course, affected. [passage indistinct] The smaller and medium-sized countries are completely ignored and, naturally, they do not agree that international questions should be limited to the talks between the two superpowers. This is the problem. The role of the

other countries must increase. We would like to see the UN as a body [words indistinct] that operates in the spirit of its Charter. It must represent the entire international community, not only a handful of states.

[Monika] You had a meeting with Perez de Cuellar, the UN secretary general.

[Malile] We had a friendly meeting. He showed his appreciation for Albania's policy in the UN. [passage indistinct] We talked about a number of problems of topical importance. We also talked about a possible visit to Albania by the secretary general. As for the exact date [words indistinct] of such a visit, this was left, of course, to be decided through the appropriate diplomatic channels.

[Monika] You had a number of meetings with your counterparts from various countries. What can you tell us about these talks?

[Malile] The main questions discussed with each of them concerned, naturally, bilateral relations, [words indistinct] a common desire to promote such bilateral relations with each of them. At the same time, we also discussed a number of broader questions, such as inter-Balkan relations, Balkan cooperation, and various problems pertaining to the Middle East and the Mediterranean. We reiterated our view that the process of Balkan cooperation must be further promoted. [passage indistinct] I may add that this very objective view [words indistinct] was welcomed by all partners in the talks as a positive contribution by Albania in securing peace in our region. [passage indistinct]

Leaders' Public Appearances for 1-6 Oct

AU0710201689

[Editorial report] Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian in its broadcasts between 1-6 October reports the following public appearances of Albanian leaders (time and date of each report given in parentheses):

Ramiz Alia, Albanian Workers Party (AWP) Central Committee (CC) first secretary, received two Albanian residents in the United States on 2 October. (1900 GMT 2 Oct 89) Alia is reported visiting Tropoje District on 5 October, delivering a speech in Bajram Curri City. (1900 GMT 5 Oct 89)

Adil Carcani, AWP CC Politburo member and chairman of the Council of Ministers, and Pirro Kondi, AWP CC Politburo candidate member and Tirana District AWP Committee first secretary, visited a porcelain factory in Tirana on 3 October. (1900 GMT 3 Oct 89)

Prokop Murra, AWP CC Politburo member and minister of people's defense, attended a rally in the city of Kukes on the 45th anniversary of the 24th Partisan Assault Brigade on 1 October. (1900 GMT 1 Oct 89)

Relations Among Socialist Countries Discussed

AU1210162589 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 11 Oct 89 p 4

[Article by Professor Doctor Georgi Stoyanov: "Some Topical Questions of Mutual Relations Among Socialist Countries"]

[Text] The socialist countries are involved in an important stage of their development. Along with the undeniable successes that they achieved in the years of socialist construction, the existing model of socialism has exhausted its possibilities in some of these countries, while substantial shortcomings and mistakes were allowed to occur, and moments of crisis emerged in others. In view of such circumstances, the socialist countries are presently engaged in reforms and processes of renewal which are characterized by some common features.

The meaning of the aforementioned processes is to consolidate and further develop socialism so that it may become more democratic and more attractive. The methods and approaches for achieving this goal are mapped out by each communist, or workers party which is responsible to its own people for the image of socialism. This is an urgently required prerequisite for the competent and meaningful solution of the complicated problems facing each individual socialist country. Naturally, this does not exclude the existence of common, international rules and characteristic features which manifest themselves in accordance to the newly emerging conditions.

As Vladimir Ilich Lenin pointed out in his lifetime, comprehensive socialism can be achieved only through common experience. For this reason it is very important today to find forms of exchanging experience and information, to develop coordinated views and a joint political line on certain issues. Particular attention should be devoted to interparty cooperation.

Joint work in the area of developing social sciences is particularly important in this context. We cannot help admitting that these sciences as a whole are lagging behind the requirements of our time. Subjectivism, bookishness, and dogmatism have not been eliminated from the sphere of social sciences. In certain cases, political scientists from socialist countries uncritically apply alien concepts and models as prescriptions for the implementation of the restructuring process. For precisely this reason, it is necessary to exchange experience and to implement cooperation on all questions concerning the public in socialist countries. Interparty relations should be developed at all levels and produce a prompt social and economic effect; they should contribute to the development of the individual as a socialist personality.

Cooperation in the economic sector should be in accordance with each country's present-day needs. In this context, special attention should be devoted to the questions of further development of socialist economic integration, to the establishment of a joint socialist market of CEMA-member countries. All socialist countries today are increasingly "opening" to the world. This "opening" is dictated by objective needs and has a progressive, political and economic connotation. We are justified in stating that by following this path, the socialist countries are likely to achieve numerous positive results in their economic development. Relying on their potential and on their peoples' intellectual assets, on the results and resources of international socialist division of labor, they will be capable of responding to the economic challenge of our time. For this reason, we cannot accept the views propagated by certain scholars in some socialist countries who consider the incorporation of the socialist economy in the Western system of worldwide economic relations as the chief opportunity for intensifying the socialist countries' economic systems. Such a model, accompanied by respective political components, is described as a process of "Finlandization," that would, allegedly, act as a strong incentive for the economic development of the European socialist countries in particular. In order to support their views with stronger arguments, the authors of the "Finlandization" concept present a mechanical and simplified picture of relations between the USSR and the European socialist countries as ties between a large country—namely the USSR—which is allegedly subjecting the small socialist countries to its sphere of influence. In view of this, the promoters of "Finlandization" are urging the USSR to "free" those countries from its influence, so that, just like Finland, they may achieve economic strength by engaging in the Western system of worldwide economic relations.

The eclectic and unscientific nature of this approach is evident, in addition to all other arguments, for the simple reason that relations among socialist countries were never based on such simplified concepts—namely as relations between some sort of dependent state entities subject to the USSR. Naturally, the participation of socialist countries in the worldwide socialist division of labor has not only positive, but also some negative aspects. Nevertheless, as our historical experience shows, the effect of the negative aspects can be reduced through joint efforts.

International cooperation and mutual relations are of particular importance in this context. The socialist countries can and must find new forms of inter-state relations, which is both in the interest of each of them and in the interest of the community as a whole. Such new forms can be established through intensified contacts between parliaments, governments, and local administrative and management organs. It would be useful to exchange experience and information on new solutions aimed at the democratization of mangement, at the introduction of varied forms of self-management, at most efficiently administering socialist property and overcoming the working people's alienation from it, at

enhancing the role of the human factor in the comprehensive system of social relations under socialism, and at achieving a general humanization of socialism.

Very substantial tasks await the socialist countries in the international sphere. We have evidence that certain capitalist circles are trying to take advantage of renewal and restructuring in the socialist countries to their own benefit and for their own selfish reasons. They even refer to new political thinking, to the real requirement for the prevalence of universal human values over class interests in order to claim that our present-day, unified world would become really united, only after the socialist countries have adopted the social model of the West, rejecting their own values and joining the capitalist system. It is evident that such prescriptions have nothing in common with the processes of restructuring and renewal. The efforts of the imperialist forces to take advantage of restructuring and democratization in the socialist states in order denigrate socialism and to present it as a social system that history has doomed to failure should be energetically opposed by the socialist countries with scientific and political arguments.

Importance of Yazov's U.S. Visit Emphasized

AU1110164589 Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 9 Oct 89 p 3

[Ivan Undzhiev Commentary: "First and Fruitful"]

[Text] The visit of USSR Defense Minister Army General Dmitriy Yazov to the United States was one of last week's events that require special attention. If the word "historic" had not been devalued so much during the years of stagnation, we would have described the visit as such, because it really was the first official visit by a Soviet military minister across the ocean.

This in itself is a very important fact. It is difficult to envisage how much longer Washington will continue to perceive the USSR as a primary threat!? Stereotypes of political thinking are very persistent. However, the invitation addressed to Army Gen Yazov was the result of realism, which is perhaps also beginning to gain the upper hand in the White House. In any event, the dynamics of the development of USSR-U.S. relations has been preserved and the spheres of cooperation and useful exchange of opinions have expanded. This inevitably leads toward greater mutual understanding.

On American soil, Army Gen Yazov was received by President Bush and had talks with Secretary of State Baker, Defense Secretary Cheney, the head of the Joint Chiefs of Staffs, Powell, and many other U.S. military and political leaders. The Pentagon's official representatives assessed the talks positively, which took place in a businesslike and frank spirit. The broad range of the issues of bilateral and international interest that were discussed, such as the talks on arms control, regional conflicts, comparison of USSR and U.S. military doctrines, and disarmament, implies that, in addition to being a manifestation of good will, the visit also had an exceptionally businesslike character. When one approaches the issues in a businesslike manner, it is easy to resolve them.

Month of Bulgarian-USSR Friendship Noted

AU1110153889

[Editorial report] Bulgarian papers of 9 and 10 October note the beginning of the Month of Bulgarian-USSR Friendship, and carry various articles related to this event.

Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian on 9 October on pages 1 and 3 carries a 900-word article by Viktor Sharapov, USSR ambassador to Bulgaria, entitled: "Loyal Friends, Reliable Allies." Sharapov describes the Month of Bulgarian-USSR Friendship as "an important sociopolitical and cultural event, viewed by the Soviet people as a manifestation of good and sincere relations of friendship and fraternity between our peoples." In this context he outlines various events in the USSR, which will mark the Month of Bulgarian-USSR Friendship in the Soviet Union.

Further on Sharapov describes in general terms "the revolutionary restructuring of the USSR society, which began with the CPSU Central Committee April 1985 Plenum," and stresses that "what is characteristic of the present moment is that restructuring is at a turning point and responsible stage." Sharapov praises Bulgarian-Soviet cooperation in various areas and points out that "the meetings and talks between Comrades Mikhail Gorbachev and Todor Zhivkov and the agreements they achieved give a powerful impetus to further strengthening and perfecting Bulgaria-Soviet cooperation." In conclusion he praises the activity of the Bulgarian All-People Committee on Bulgarian-Soviet Friendship and expresses hope that "the interesting events and meetings which are part of the month of Bulgarian-USSR Friendship will further strengthen and expand fraternal relations between the two peoples."

Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian on 10 October on pages 1 and 2 carries a 1,800-word article by Nacho Papazov, "chairman of the BCP Central Control-Auditing and chairman of the All-People's Committee on Bulgarian-USSR Friendship," entitled: "Holy Fraternity." Papazov describes in length the historical roots of Bulgarian-Russian and Bulgarian-Soviet friendship, and stresses that "the Bulgarian-USSR alliance became a reliable shield of the Bulgarian people's freedom and revolutionary achievements." In this context Papazov says: "The attempts based on criticism of past distortions, that aim at casting a shadow over Bulgarian-Soviet friendship, are unclean and sneaking attempts of people who long time ago have relinquished their sense of responsibility for our people and their destiny.

"The de-ideologization of international relations is a part of the new political thinking and one of Lenin's behests. This, however, does not mean to relinquish the

great heritage of our people's struggles for social and political freedom and fraternal friendship with the Russian and Soviet people."

Stressing that "many ideologists in the West" do not like Bulgarian-USSR friendship, Papazov says: "Some people are playing on the national sentiments and try to draw a wedge between our friendship with the USSR and our sovereignty as a state. Many answers are possible in this case. We know the bitter taste of past experience, when an entire state was sold, or a nation was sacrificed in the name of the Tsar. We passed through the purgatory of many illusions, however one thing remained solid and unshakable—our friendship with the USSR. No power can sway us from this friendship!"

Further on Papazov notes that "conditions exist of elevating Bulgarian-Soviet friendship and coming together to a qualitatively new level. As pointed out at the working meeting between Comrades Todor Zhivkov and Mikhail Gorbachev in June, this requires a completely new approach toward developing relations between the two countries, and working out a new model of cooperation, adequate for the contemporary objective realities, possibilities, and needs." In conclusion Papazov describes various events that will take place during the Month of Bulgarian-USSR Friendship, and expresses hope that "those events will contribute to the treasure house of Bulgarian-Soviet and Soviet-Bulgarian friendship."

Bekhar Commentary Assesses Polish Plenum

AU1110115689 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 6 Oct 89 p 5

[Maksim Bekhar commentary: "Looking at Future"]

[Text] It would be difficult to dispute the fact that the 15th plenum of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers Party [PZPR] indeed decided the party's future.

The following arguments support this claim: First, all 4 specific questions of the internal party referendum envisaged that the plenum would trace the road toward the forthcoming congress, scheduled to take place at the end of January 1990. Second, none of the numerous (and often sharp) statements made at the plenum voiced any differences in the party ranks, related to the basic issue: Only the party unity can guarantee the existence of the party in the future as a powerful and fighting party. Finally, the third argument:

The will to achieve an even greater cohesion of the various platforms and visions within a real party of the Polish socialist leftist forces will ensure the reforms initiated in Poland's society by the PZPR. This is the basic conclusion of the plenum's concluding document, published today in the Polish press. It deals with the opinions on the main directions of the preparations for the congress, and contains the basic proposals addressed by the party leadership not only at the party members but also at all adherents and sympathizers with this new course.

At a news conference after the plenum Leszek Miller, member of the PZPR Central Committee Politburo and Central Committee secretary said: "Of course, the party will further follow with great attention the issue of economy." This was confirmed by the election of Zdislaw Balicki, candidate member of the PZPR Central Committee Politburo as Central Committee secretary. He will replace Marcin Swiecicki, who recently was elected minister of economic cooperation with foreign countries.

Addressing the Central Committee members Mieczyslaw Rakowski, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, stressed in his concluding speech at the plenum the great responsibility faced by all. He stressed the party's readiness to cooperate with all forces and movements in the country to work for the benefit of the people. He also expressed satisfaction with the fact that the majority of the party members understand the necessity of unity.

Requests for Restoring Citizenship Reported

AU1110155089 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 9 Oct 89 p 3

[Article by Evtim Stoimenov, first deputy minister of justice: "Defense of Human Communications"]

[Excerpts] Hundreds of letters and applications, such as the following, are daily being submitted to the Ministry of Justice:

"My father is German, my mother—Bulgarian. I speak Bulgarian and have a profound affection for Bulgaria and the Bulgarian people. Contacts with people from Bulgaria are a necessity for me. Hence, I consider myself a Bulgarian; and hence, I would like to apply for Bulgarian citizenship." Signed: Laura L., FRG.

Hundreds of such letters have arrived following the amendment to the Law on Bulgarian Citizenship which reflects the policy of the party and state that is aimed at the perfection of socialist society, the fulfillment of our international obligations, and the Bulgarian people's unity.

Over 700 persons living abroad applied to the Ministry of Justice in the last 4 months asking for clarifications and specific instructions related to dual citizenship.

Who are these people? They are persons who have been relieved or deprived of Bulgarian citizenship. Others, who live abroad and have adopted the citizenship of their country of residence, do not know whether they have retained their Bulgarian citizenship. Children and grandchildren of immigrants who left Bulgaria a long time ago, and foreigners who have married Bulgarian citizens are also among the applicants. The overwhelming majority of them are Bulgarians who have left

the country legally or illegally and, not having kept their passports, are convinced that they have lost their Bulgarian citizenship.

The recently expanding anti-Bulgarian campaign related to Bulgarian citizens departing for the Republic of Turkey is aimed at proving that human rights are being violated in Bulgaria. In this article it is by no means my intention to refute all the slanders on this question by using detailed and well-founded arguments. For this reason I will deal with only one of the problems related to human rights, namely the problem of Bulgarian citizenship. [passage omitted]

Now that Bulgarian law has extended the tolerance of dual citizenship, our emigres in the FRG, the United States, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, and numerous European countries are showing great interest. According to information provided by three Bulgarians living in the Republic of South Africa, the Bulgarian colony in that country consists of approximately 200 people, and most of them would like to settle the question of their Bulgarian citizenship. [passage omitted]

Similar cases are reported related to citizens who live in Jordan, Turkey, Cyprus, Iraq, Kuwait, Cape Verde, and so forth.

An increasing number of people are daily appealing to the Ministry of Justice, asking whether they have lost their Bulgarian citizenship. It turned out that only eight persons have been deprived of Bulgarian citizenship over the last 15 years. All others are entitled to be issued with certificates settling their nationality status. We have so far issued 57 such certificates.

Numerous people who were relieved of Bulgarian citizenship at their own request have now submitted their documents for the restoration of their citizenship. [passage omitted]

We should point out that several emigres who are already retired, or close to retirement age, intend to return to Bulgaria and establish their permanent residence in our country. Others, who are still active, try to settle the problem of their Bulgarian citizenship so that they may visit Bulgaria with a Bulgarian foreign travel passport. Great interest is also expressed in conditions for business activities in our country. Children of Greek emigres who were born in Bulgaria and whose parents have returned to their homeland, but who had been relieved of Bulgarian citizenship before their departure, are also applying for the restoral of their citizenship. Such requests were also submitted by Jews who had emigrated from Bulgaria.

What is the meaning of all this?

It is more than evident that Bulgarian emigres have preserved a sincere love of their motherland in their hearts, and that Bulgarians in the most remote parts of the world remain Bulgarians. Along with this, a person who deeply respects his people, his motherland, and his ancestors naturally passes on such feelings to his children, grandchildren, and to the coming generations. On the other hand, however, the new situation created by the Law on Bulgarian Citizenship, which brilliantly confirms the policy of our party and state that is aimed at amending our legislation in a humanitarian and democratic spirit, is welcomed with great satisfaction by all people who love and respect Bulgaria.

It is certain that the processes related to the acquisition and restoral of Bulgarian citizenship will further expand. Such are the trends for the time being. However, extensive information about our new legislation is required for this purpose, because people in the world are far from knowing what is going on in our country and what opportunities exist.

Muslim Returnees Rally in Kurdzhali, Elsewhere

AU1310085789 Sofia BTA in English 0810 GMT 13 Oct 89

["Rallies of Returnees From Turkey"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, October 13 (BTA)—Hundreds of people keep flocking to rallies and meetings across the country to condemn strongly the Turkish Government's anti-Bulgarian policy and propaganda.

The repatriates of Khaskovo Region gathered in Kurdzhali. "The numerous letters, phone calls and inquiries to the municipal committee of the political and public forces in the region have convinced us that thousands of our compatriots are concerned about the major human responsibility for their kin and country, the mistakes arising from irresponsible making of fateful decisions," said Mr Aleksandur Karabashev, chairman of the steering committee for the meeting.

Many returnees told candidly about the ordeals they have experienced far from their native land. Lured by the Turkish hegemonistic policy, most of them confronted the harsh reality only hours after crossing the frontier. Before long they were sobered up and looked with hope to Bulgaria. They are ready to pay any price for a homecoming.

A number of speakers voiced concern over the fact that many returnees in Khaskovo Region still do not work. They are reminded that everybody is bound to respect and abide by the laws of the Bulgarian state.

The participants in the regional meeting "Bulgaria: Our Homeland, Fate, and Responsibility" adopted an address to the entire Bulgarian public which expresses their readiness to work honestly and courageously in order to build their present and future in their only homeland, the People's Republic of Bulgaria.

The workers and experts at the Georgi Dimitrov Mechanical Engineering Plant in Ruse held a rally to condemn all attempts at trifling with the innermost feelings of their fellow Bulgarians. They expressed the

conviction that the international community will expose the aspirations of Pan-Turkism and will help restrain the engineers of the anti-Bulgarian campaign.

Telegrams and letters to this effect arrive at the National Assembly, at the sociopolitical organizations' committees and at the mass media. The senders protest against the moves of the reactionary circles in Turkey.

"In reality, the anti-Bulgarian campaign is a provocation intended to destabilize our country and our economy," says a cable from the work force of the cooperative union in Ruse.

Decree to Counteract Migration Published

AU1110141789 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 6 Oct 89 p 2

[Excerpt] The following more important acts are published in issue No. 78 of DURZHAVEN VESTNIK:

—Extract from Council of Ministers' Decree No. 44 of 11 September 1989 on the Development of Towns and Villages Affected by Migration of the Population. In order to stabilize the demographic processes in regions affected by migration of the population, the executive committees of the oblast and municipal councils, together with the social organizations, will organize on an economic and patriotic basis the settlement of new inhabitants in populated areas in Burgas, Varna, Plovdiv, Razgrad, and Khaskovo Oblasts, according to a list adopted by the executive committees of the oblast people's councils.

Newly settled citizens who assume a contractual obligation to live and work in these populated areas for at least 10 years will be contractually provided by the executive committees of the municipal people's councils with housing, together with the appropriate yards and farm buildings. If the contract is observed, after the expiry of the 10-year period the municipal people's councils will supply the citizens with an title to the property, without payment of the value of the property and the relevant taxes, or will grant them the right to build houses, farm and other buildings on a state-owned plot of land either free of charge or for a minimal payment—10 percent of the established price. The State Savings Bank will grant loans under the housing credit procedure to newly settled citizens and inhabitants of the populated areas included in the list, the interest payments on which will be charged to the state budget. The State Savings Bank will grant loans under the current credit procedure to newly settled citizens and inhabitants of the listed areas for furnishing houses and purchasing livestock, agricultural equipment and other items for private farms.

A commission is created under the Council of Ministers to supervise and coordinate the work of fulfilling the tasks relating to developing the areas affected by migration of the population. Under proposals made by the executive committees of the oblast people's councils, young people under 35 years with a secondary education who accept a contractual obligation to work in the populated areas included in the list during their education and for at least 6 years after completing their higher education will be specially accepted, without competitive examination, for correspondence training courses at the institutes for training health-care cadres.

Pensioners who work in all spheres and activities in the populated areas included in the above list are entitled to receive the full amount of their pensions plus the wages due to them. An order is made not to close teaching and preschool establishments in the populated areas included in the list, except by decision of the minister of national education and after exhausting all possibilities. [passage omitted]

'Grounds for Alarm Exist' in Fulfilling Plan

AU1110082589 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 10 Oct 89

[Text] The Council of Ministers held a meeting today that examined the fulfillment of the plan for the first 9 months of this year, the tasks until the end of the year, and the preparation of the energy system for operation in winter conditions. In addition to the members of the Council of Ministers, the participants in the session included chairmen of the executive committees of the oblast people's councils, the chairmen of the associations, chairmen of the committees and leaders of other central departments, and the leaders of the main companies.

Under the first item on the agenda, Comrade Petko Danchev made a critical assessment of the fulfillment of the plan during the first 9 months, stressing that the higher rates of fulfillment as compared with last year are also being accompanied by serious weaknesses in the fulfillment of the plan tasks. This requires the associations and economic organizations to make an in-depth analysis in order to ensure that the national economic plan approved by the National Assembly is fulfilled before the end of the year.

After the speeches made on the topic, Council of Ministers Chairman Georgi Atanasov pointed out that, despite the existing increases in certain associations and economic organizations, grounds for alarm exist concerning fulfillment of the plan. Attention should now be mainly directed in three directions:

—On the state of the market. A special session of the Council of Minsters is planned on this issue;

—On exports and foreign exchange receipts, which presupposes a closer examination of the internal reserves; and

—On resources in the economy and their direction, in order to allocate them in the directions where they are most needed at the present.

It is necessary for the ministries, associations, and companies to discuss these issues as soon as possible and to implement concrete programs to complete the plan by the end of the year.

Under the second item on the agenda at today's Council of Ministers' session, a discussion took place on the preparation of the country's energy system for operation under winter conditions.

In his report on this subject, Nikola Todoriev, chairman of the Energy Industry Association, stated that the preparation of the energy system for the coming autumn-winter period started as long ago as March. In the course of carrying out the maintenance program, considerable problems were created by difficulties in equipment and materials supplies. Despite this, the main elements of the repair program will be completed by the end of the month. Measures have been taken to bring the No. 5 generating unit at the Kozloduy Nuclear Power Plant into operation before 20 October. The main electric generating stations have been provided with supplies of coal and liquid fuels. The thermoelectric power plant at Varna requires special attention, where difficulties have arisen during the past 2 months regarding the critical delivery of the planned quantities of coal. Because of certain subjective errors, difficulties were created with supplies from the start of the month, which made it necessary to shut down certain capacities. The interruptions in supplies to certain consumers will be overcome following the completion of the repair works and the provision of the required stocks of coal and liquid fuels. A special decision in this spirit was adopted by the Council of Ministers.

It was emphasized at the meeting that the question of electricity supplies does not only concern the Council of Ministers and the Energy Industry Association. This is a question for every economic enterprise [passage indistinct] A recommendation was made to activate the explanatory work concerning the thrifty and efficient use of electric power and the other energy resources, as well as public criticism of those who waste energy. On this issue as well, the mass media can do much to help in resolving the problems of our energy industry.

Sofia Airport To Reopen After Repairs

AU1010205289 Sofia BTA in English 1926 GMT 10 Oct 89

[Text] Sofia, October 10 (BTA)—Early in the morning of October 11, the first domestic and international flights will touch down at Sofia Airport after a 1-month closure for repairs.

That largest overhaul of the 42-year-old airport was carried out to enhance flight safety and to improve passenger service. Now Sofia Airport will be able to handle heavier aircraft in bad weather. Its air-traffic capacity has been increased, too.

Leaders' Appearances for 29 Sep - 6 Oct

AU0710212489

[Editorial report] Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian in its newscasts, the Sofia press, and Sofia BTA in English during the monitoring period from 1500 GMT on 29 September through 1500 GMT on 6 October report the following public appearances of Bulgarian leaders (sourceline of each report given in parentheses):

Milko Balev and Dimitur Stanishev held talks in Sofia on 29 September with a Vietnamese Communist Party delegation led by Turan Xuan Bach, Politburo member and secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Vietnam. (Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 30 Sep 89 p 6) (Sofia BTA in English 1729 GMT 29 Sep 89)

The following leaders attended a National Day reception given in Sofia on 29 September by PRC Ambassador Li Fenglin: Todor Zhivkov, Stoyan Ovcharov, Dimitur Stoyanov, and Yordan Yotov. (Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 2000 GMT 29 Sep 89)

Todor Zhivkov, Georgi Yordanov, and Yordan Yotov attended a performance of the National Opera in Sofia on 1 October to mark the 60th birthday of opera singer Nikolay Gyaurov. (Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1730 GMT 1 Oct 89)

Todor Zhivkov, with Milko Balev and Dimitur Stanishev present, received in Sofia on 2 October a delegation of the Communist Party of Cuba (PCC) led by Jorge Risquet Valdes, Politburo member and secretary of the PCC Central Committee. (Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1000 GMT 2 Oct 89)

Todor Zhivkov, with Ivan Panev in attendance, received in Sofia on 4 October Miroslav Stepan, member of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and leader of the party organization in Prague. (Sofia BTA in English 1610 GMT 4 Oct 89) (Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1730 GMT 4 Oct 89)

Todor Zhivkov departed on 6 October with a delegation to attend the GDR anniversary celebrations in Berlin, being seen off by Georgi Atanasov, Milko Balev, Petko Danchev, Grisha Filipov, Emil Khristov, Andrey Lukanov, Petur Mladenov, Stoyan Ovcharov, Ivan Panev, Dimitur Stanishev, Grigor Stoichkov, Dimitur Stoyanov, Georgi Yordanov, and Yordan Yotov. (Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 0900 GMT 6 Oct 89)

Todor Zhivkov, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party (BCP) and chairman of the State Council, received in Sofia on 29 September Mohammed Haji Nejat-Hoyseyniyan, Iranian minister for heavy industry. (Sofia BTA in English 1909 GMT 29 Sep 89) In Sofia on 2 October Zhivkov received Choe Kwang, candidate member of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the Workers Party of

Korea and chief of the General Staff of the Korean People's Army. (Sofia BTA in English 1842 GMT 2 Oct 89)

Georgi Atanasov, member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the Council of Ministers, received in Sofia on 29 September Shane Korbeci, Albanian minister of foreign trade. (Sofia BTA in English 2108 GMT 29 Sep 89) In Sofia on 4 October Atanasov received Aleksandr Khomyakov, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic. (Sofia BTA in English 1847 GMT 4 Oct 89)

Milko Balev, Politburo member and secretary of the BCP Central Committee, held talks in Varna on 29 September with the delegation of the Communist Party of Vietnam led by Truan Xuan Bach. (Sofia BTA in English 1729 GMT 29 Sep 89) In Sofia on 1 October Balev received the PCC delegation led by Jorge Risquet Valdes. (Sofia BTA in English 1913 GMT 1 Oct 89)

Army General Dobri Dzhurov, member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and minister of national defense, received in Sofia on 2 October the DPRK Army delegation led by Choe Kwang. (Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 3 Oct 89 pp 1, 3)

Petur Mladenov, member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and minister of foreign affairs, met in New York on 29 September with the Greek, Algerian, and Ecuadorian foreign ministers. (Sofia BTA in English 1713 GMT 29 Sep 89) In New York on 30 September he had meetings with the foreign ministers of Albania and Cuba. (Sofia BTA in English 1623 GMT 30 Sep 89) and also with Soviet Foreign Minister Shevardnadze, U.S. Secretary of State James Baker, and FRG Foreign Minister Genscher. (Sofia BTA in English 1614 GMT 30 Sep 89) In New York on 1 October Mladenov met with the foreign ministers of India and the Philippines (Sofia BTA in English 1906 GMT 1 Oct 89), and on 2 October he had meetings there with the Cypriot and Ugandan foreign ministers and with Kang Sok-chu, first deputy minister of foreign affairs of the DPRK. (Sofia BTA in English 1524 GMT 2 Oct 89) In New York on 3 October he met with UN Secretary General Javier Perez de Cuellar (Sofia BTA in English 1123 GMT 3 Oct 89) and with the foreign ministers of the SFRY and the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen. (Sofia BTA in English 1807 GMT 3 Oct 89), also making a speech in the UN General Assembly. (Sofia BTA in English 2052 GMT 3 Oct 89)

Yordan Yotov, Politburo member and secretary of the BCP Central Committee, received in Sofia on 29 September a delegation of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia led by Milovan Bosic. (Sofia BTA in English 1822 GMT 29 Sep 89) In Sofia on the same day Yotov attended a public meeting to mark the 40th anniversary of the proclamation of the PRC. (Sofia BTA in English 1346 GMT 30 Sep 89)

Andrey Lukanov, candidate member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and minister of foreign economic relations, signed a cooperation protocol in Plovdiv on 30 September with Mohammed Haji Nejat-Hoyseyniyan, Iranian minister of heavy industry. (Sofia BTA in English 1840 GMT 30 Sep 89)

Georgi Yordanov, candidate member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, read a greetings message from Zhivkov at the opening of the Ninth European Sports Conference in Sofia on 2 October. (Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1730 GMT 2 Oct 89)

Dimitur Stanishev, secretary of the BCP Central Committee, attended a reception given by the SRV ambassador in Sofia on 2 October to mark the 10th anniversary of signing of the friendship treaty with Bulgaria. (Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 2030 GMT 2 Oct 89)

CPCZ CC Ends Session, Focuses on Enviroment

Discussion Continues

LD1210141389 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1130 GMT 12 Oct 89

[Text] The 15th CPCZ [Czechoslovak Communist Party] Central Committee session is continuing today in the Spanish Hall of Prague Castle with a discussion. The morning session was opened and chaired by Miroslav Stepan, member of the party Central Committee Presidium.

In the discussion, Comrade Jan Lukacik spoke about experiences gained from the creation and protection of the environment in Trencin district. He said that at the instigation of party bodies the district national committee drew up an environment improvement plan until the year 2000.

Comrade Miroslav Zavadil voiced his support for the draft of the new party statutes. He noted that it is necessary to continuously recall the conclusions of the ninth session of the party Central Committee and direct efforts at changing the style and method of party work. He also stressed that there is a marked change in the strategy of the Revolutionary Trade Union movement's activity, first and foremost in protecting justified interests and the rights of the working people.

Comrade Antonin Mlady focused his attention on the proceedings of the annual membership meetings of party organizations in Prague. He remarked that in a critical and businesslike manner they touch upon the whole contemporary process of restructuring and upon the required changes of social consciousness.

The findings from the annual membership meetings of party organizations in Bratislava indicate a considerably greater openness and critical approach in the behavior of the communists, said Comrade Stefan Rybar. He went on to say that the Bratislava City CPSL [Communist Party of Slovakia] committee focuses permanent attention on the creation and protection of the environment in the Slovak capital.

Comrade Josef Haman dealt with the restructuring of party work in the Central Bohemian regional party organization. Talking about the problem of ecology, he noted that the region places emphasis on the fact that all districts, towns, and villages should draw up a program for the protection of the environment.

Comrade Vaclav Cermak focused on the environmental problems in Chomutov district. Using the example of the power engineering center of the Socialist Youth Union Power Station Tusimice he demonstrated how difficult it is to carry out economic tasks while fulfilling ecology programs.

Comrade Lumir Hanak focused his attention on certain aspects of the present-day international situation. He dealt with the influence of domestic political developments in certain socialist countries upon mutual relations within the socialist community.

Comrade Josef Cizek spoke about the more than 10-year-long cooperation between the Unified Cooperative Farm Mir in Chelcice and the research and scientific centers of Czechoslovakia, the objective of which is to restrict the unfavorable influence of agricultural production on the environment.

Comrade Pavol Hrivnak emphasized that our economic plans for the future must be in keeping with the requirements for the protection of the environment so that its further deterioration will not occur. He also spoke in favor of deepening international ecological cooperation, in particular with neighboring countries, as was proposed by Federal Premier Ladislav Adamec.

New Officials Appointed

LD1210164489 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1600 GMT 12 Oct 89

[Excerpt] The 15th session of the Czechoslovak Communist Party [CPCZ] Central Committee ended today in Prague with a concluding speech by Milos Jakes, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee.

The Central Committee unanimously approved the decisions and resolution of the CPCZ Central Committee on environmental development and protection.

Some 37 comrades spoke in the debate. They voiced full support for the conclusions contained in the presidium's report. Their experience, findings, suggestions, and critical comments enriched the discussion of important issues with regard to party activity, and made an active contribution to shaping the final documents of the 15th session.

The CPCZ Central Committee also discussed cadre proposals. It released comrade Marie Kabrhelova, at her request, from the post of member of the Party Central Committee Secretariat. Comrade Milos Jakes thanked her sincerely for her many years of work, great dedication, and initiative in carrying out her responsible tasks, both in the women's movement and in her party posts. He also wished comrade Marie Kabrhelova every success in her work for the party and society.

In a secret ballot, the Central Committee elected comrade Miroslava Nemcova member of the Party Central Committee Secretariat; comrade Miloslav Dockal as a secretary of the Committee for Party Work in the Czech SR; Hana Lagova as a member of the Committee for Party Work in the Czech SR. [passage omitted]

Nemcova, Dockal Biographies

LD1210215889 Prague CTK in English 1931 GMT 12 Oct 89

[Text] Prague Oct 12 (CTK)—Miroslava Nemcova, new Secretariat member of the Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee, was born in a teacher's family in 1943.

She worked as an elementary school teacher and in 1972 she started working in the Central Committee of the Socialist Union of Youth. In 1978, she was elected deputy chairwoman of the Socialist Union of Youth of the Czech Socialist Republic. Since 1985, she has been chairwoman of the Czech Union of Women and deputy chairwoman of the Czechoslovak Union of Women. She was elected chairwoman of this organisation this year.

Miroslava Nemcova entered the Czechoslovak Communist Party in 1962. At the Party Central Committee 14th session, she became member of the Party Central Commitee.

She is a deputy and Presidium member of the Czech National Council. X X X

Miloslav Dockal, secretary of the Committee for Party Work in the Czech Socialist Republic, was born in a worker's family in 1939.

After ending the Philsophical Faculty of Jan Evangelista Purkyne University in Brno, he became a university teacher. He achieved a scientific degree in historical sciences. He was chairman of the Socialist Union of Youth of the Czech Socialist Republic. In the period from 1977 to 1982, he was chairman of the Czechoslovak Socialist Union of Youth. Since 1984, he has been head of the Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee Department for Education and Science and this year he was put in charge of the joint Department for Education, Science and Culture.

Miloslav Dockal entered the Czechoslovak Communist Party in 1960. He was elected central committee member at the party's 17th congress.

He is a deputy of the House of Nations and Presidium member of the Czechoslovak Federal Assembly.

Resolution on Environment

LD1210202989 Prague CTK in English 1921 GMT 12 Oct 89

[Text] Prague Oct 12 (CTK)—In spite of the positive results achieved in the sphere of environmental protection, there are still many shortcomings resulting from the failure by responsible workers in the centre and executives in enterprises to fulfil resolutions by communist party and state bodies, said a resolution of the Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee adopted at the close of its session today.

In consequence of this results of science and technology were not applied in practice to the necessary extent. Planned construction of environmental protection projects has been lagging behind schedule, the resolution on the creation and protection of the environment said.

Noting that the solution of problems of environmental protection is a long-term process requiring considerable resources, the resolution said the fulfilment of tasks in this sphere cannot be ensured without broad theoretical knowledge, the use of the latest scientific-technological findings, progressive technologies, and without the necessary designing, construction and engineering capacities.

The resolution stressed that the party's policy in the creation and protection of the environment is based on an open and constructive approach to the settlement of problems, and added that the decisive task is to prevent a further deterioration of the environment in the 9th five-year plan period and reach a fundamental turn in its quality by 2000.

The Central Committee requires Communists in the federal and national governments to adopt fundamental measures to improve environmental protection, the resolution said, and added that it is necessary to establish a system of management providing for coordinated and integrated administration of care for the environment, and to introduce a united information and monitoring system. It also stressed that Communists in enterprises must press for technological solutions that will be advantageous from both the economic and ecological points of view.

The resolution emphasized the need to improve preventive medical care in areas most affected by pollution.

Jakes Closes Session

LD1210201289 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1830 GMT 12 Oct 89

[Text] We shall now acquaint you with the closing speech of Comrade Milos Jakes, general secretary of the Czechoslovak Communist Party [CPCZ] Central Committee, at the 15th session of the Party Central Committee.

Comrade Jakes praised the unity of the Central Committee with regard to viewing the past period, the current situation, and on where to focus attention. It is particularly important at this time of unease. The development of both the internal and international situation is very dynamic. This requires early recognition of trends, clear standpoints, and a principled policy reacting in a timely and flexible manner to specific situations. In the current period we are facing many complicated and demanding tasks, Milos Jakes stressed. The most important ones were formed in conclusion of the report by the Party Central Committee Presidium. What is decisive is the high level of activity by the party and the communists—to strengthen the unity of the party with the broadest strata of the people, to make a productive society, and to

mobilize everybody in favor of socialist forces so that we could come with good results to the 18th party congress.

The focus of our attention must continue to be aimed at safeguarding comprehensive preparations toward establishing new conditions of economy, planning, and management from the beginning of next year. As to the fulfillment of social and economic tasks, primary attention must be paid to renewing and strengthening the balance in our national economy. We must consistently continue the democratization of social life by implementing the policy of the National Front, to create space on its platform for a constructive dialogue, and for participation by the broadest strata of citizens in tackling problems in the management and administration of the state.

Our aim is to strengthen socialism by means of restructuring and democratization, not its sell out. Comrade Milos Jakes stressed. We expressed this at the very beginning, he added, when we adopted the program of economic and social restructuring at the seventh session of the Party Central Committee. As to our foreign policy, it continues to be a priority for us to strengthen cooperation with the socialist countries, in particular the USSR. We consider the main thing to build, above all, on what we have in common. We have confirmed yet again in this respect our sincere interest in a comradely exchange of experiences of socialist construction, strengthening solidarity, and the development of mutually advantageous cooperation, comrade Milos Jakes said.

We have adopted new draft CPCZ statutes. There was a number of suggestions in this respect and we reckon that there will be other in the internal political discussion. This is not unnatural. That is why the draft is being submitted for discussion so that members of the party and broad section of the public could democratically refer to it.

Comrade Milos Jakes also praised the fact that the Central Committee unanimously adopted a Party Central Comnmittee resolution on the creation and protection of the living environment. It clearly expresses the policy of the party in this sphere. It is a politically sensitive and especially significant area, and deals with questions that directly concern the conditions of life, work by the people, influences the overall development of the society, and have an international significance. We simply must consider ecology as an inseparable part of living standards and also explain this to people in this way, comrade Milos Jakes said.

From this fact arises the importance of implementing ecological criteria and a sensible approach to nature in all the social and economic activities, planning and implementing investment actions, and planning and decisionmaking at all levels, as stated by our resolution.

What is decisive now is that the tasks set by the resolution are purposefully carried out. The solution of ecological questions will also be projected in the draft on the principal directions of economic and social development, which will be submitted for public discussion, and consequently presented at the 18th Party congress.

This is naturally a sphere that demands great attention and which is linked to the implementation of structural changes in our economy. This though does not mean waiting—there is a need to give thought everywhere on how to develop and increase the initiative of our entire society as well as local initiative. We must strengthen public responsibility and interest in the creation and protection of the environment. there is a wide sphere open to activity here to the national committees, through the fulfillment of election programs and development of the Z Action [voluntary work by citizens improving their living places], and jointly with them for the National Front, political parties, and social and interest groups affiliated in it. This task concerns everybody, our entire society.

In conclusion, Comrade Milos Jakes expressed the conviction that the results of the 15th session of the Party Central Committee will have a positive impact on annual members' meetings, on the preparation of party conferences, the offensive struggle for people's awareness, and the course taken by our party in fulfilling tasks in the precongress period.

News Conference Held

LD1210230389 Prague CTK in English 2153 GMT 12 Oct 89

[Text] Prague Oct 12 (CTK)--The debate at the 15th session of the Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee on problems of environmental protection laid stress on the need for a more effective use of soil, for lowering soil erosion by wind and rain, improving the quality of food and water and introducing compulsory toxicological testing of industrial products.

This was stated by party central committee officials at a press conference here today. They said that in connection with the criticism of the existing way of management in the sphere of ecology it was suggested at the session that the state commission for scientific-technological development and investments should guarantee a united coordinated management of all bodies in the sphere of ecology on the level of the Czechoslovak federation.

The session also paid attention to the extension of ecological cooperation between states of Central Europe and heard about the first concrete results ensuing from this year's conference of government members in charge of the environment in Prague, e.g. establishment of joint production ventures, better international exchange of information and unification of the ecological evaluation of the quality of the living environment. A number of Czechoslovak plants have already started programs of the production of ecological equipment, e.g. the Skoda Plzen plant and Ckd Dukla.

It was stressed at the press conference that the party Central Committee rejected the unrealistic, destructive and actually anti-socialist stands of some illegal groups. They abuse the interest of Czechoslovak citizens in the living environment and criticize everything linked to the development of the socialist society. They organize attacks against the construction of power plants, e.g. the coking plant at Stonava, North Moravia, or the Gabcikovo-Nagymaros hydroelectric system on the Danube. In this connection it was stressed that the party welcomes every initiative contributing to the solution of ecological problems but will not yield to organized activities which use ecological problems to veil their true political aims.

It was repeatedly stressed at the press conference that Czechoslovakia will do its best to fulfil its international pledge to decrease the content of sulphur dioxide in the atmosphere by 30 per cent by the year 1995 as compared to 1980.

Also discussed at the Central Committee session were new draft statutes of the party which inter alia remove asymmetry in relation to the Communist Party of Slovakia. The structure of the Slovak party, its Central Committee and name will remain unchanged while the party in the Czech Republic will be adjusted to it. Party bodies in the two republics will have the same position, powers and duties.

Czech National Council Delegation Visits Moscow

AU0810205689 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 4 Oct 89 p 7

[CTK report: "A Czech National Council Delegation Is in Moscow"]

[Text] Moscow—A Czech National Council [CNR] delegation headed by its chairman, Josef Kempny, held talks in Moscow on Tuesday [3 October] with deputies from the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet led by Vitaliy Vorotnikov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the Presidium of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] Supreme Soviet.

During their talks, both sides expressed satisfaction with the development of relations so far, relations which proceed from the joint declaration of October 1988 on the establishment of permanent ties between the representative bodies of both republics. Energetic cooperation is being developed between the CNR committees and the RSFSR Supreme Soviet commissions.

Josef Kempny and Vitaliy Vorotnikov agreed that restructuring in the CSSR and the USSR is pursuing an identical goal: the improvement of socialism. They briefed each other on the situation in their countries and on the complications which restructuring is coming up against.

Jakes' Concern Over Hungary, Poland Justified

LD1210225989 Prague International Service in English 1900 GMT 12 Oct 89

[Commentary by Station Correspondent Vaclav Kvasnicka]

[Text] The concern expressed by General Secretary Milos Jakes over the developments in Poland and Hungary is justifiable. Some of the changes in the two countries are not intended to strengthen socialism and most certainly represent a dangerous departure toward capitalism.

In Poland the Polish United Workers' Party has lost its leading role to Solidarity. The party's leadership is trying to restore its image and prestige within Polish society by supporting the government of Tadeusz Mazowiecki in his effort to solve Poland's economic crisis. So the more the present policy is based on the conviction of Party Secretary Mieczyslav Rakowski that these developments do not necessarily mean that the Polish people had rejected socialism. Accordingly, the continuity of socialist development does not have to end, provided that the Polish United Workers' Party regains the confidence of the people.

The situation in Hungary is somewhat different. The leadership of the newly formed Hungarian Socialist Party has admitted that the party would use Western social democratic parties as their model. But development in Hungary is not straightforward, and the new party is only trying to find its voice. Of great significance in this respect will be the result of the parliamentary elections and the response of the former members of the dissolved Hungarian Socialist Workers Party.

The developments in Hungary and Poland are also significant when considering the effect they may have on the foreign policies of both countries. Both states play an important role in the CEMA and in the Warsaw Treaty alliance. Both are Czechoslovakia's neighbor; Poland to the north, Hungary to the south. In the post-war period Czechoslovakia's relations with both countries have been warm and friendly—and to impair them would weaken socialism, security, and peace in Europe. That is why Czechoslovakia will support all efforts aimed at preserving those values.

Outcome of Hungarian Congress Viewed

AU1210171289 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 11 Oct 89 p 5

[Vojtech Vesely commentary: "Hungary's Path"]

[Text] The 4-day conference which began last Friday [6 October] as the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [MSZMP] Congress, and which continued from Saturday evening on as the constituent congress of the Hungarian Socialist Party [HSP], came to an end early on Tuesday [10 October] morning in the Patria Hall of the Budapest Congress Center. However, what counts in

policy are not the peculiarities of this event or another one, but solely and exclusively its lasting values.

The main outcome of the congress was the establishment of a new party, the adoption of its program and statutes, and the election of its leadership. Undoubtedly, the congress delegates made their decision about this with a feeling of responsibility and were guided by their sincere attempt to extricate Hungarian society from its profound political, economic, and social crisis.

Bitter and sweeping criticism of the activity of the previous party, its deep-rooted practices, and their "theoretical" justification resounded from the congress platform. This criticism did not evade extremism but, in essence, it provided a useful diagnosis of Hungarian reality. It demonstrated that the former MSZMP, first and foremost as a consequence of subjective circumstances, had indeed, in recent years, moved in a downward spiral in its political efficiency and could no longer, without substantial innovation, hold its ground against the standard of time's demands. The congress considered that the level of necessary changes had exceeded the framework of renewal, that this party had fulfilled its historical role, and that the next stage of development required the establishment of a principally new party. It decided to abandon the communist type of political party and elected a socialist type. It was heard at the congress that this is a party which resembles less the communist parties in European socialist countries and which resembles more the West European socialist parties, but it is not a carbon copy of them. Concerning the party's character, it is written in the statutes that this is a political organization, active in the Marxist spirit, which unconditionally adopts global values, humanism, freedom, and democracy. It is necessary to note that these noble aims are also inherent in communist parties and represent socialism's essential values. In Hungary their new socialist party highlights, on the basis of knowledge, that in the past in practice they had implemented their aims with deformations and deviations. However, does there exist a country where the ideas of humanism, democracy, and man's freedoms have been completely implemented? The attempt to implement these ideas more fully under Hungary's specific conditions is, however, a decidedly positive endeavor. Development must examine this path until social practice indicates whether or not this is a blind alley.

A party's ideology, its class composition, and its ties of alliance, more than its declared aims, reveal the nature of every political force, even the nature of the HSP. In its policy statement the new party's congress clearly distanced itself from Marxism-Leninism. The view that it is possible to make use of dialectics alone from Marxism was an isolated one and the view predominated that the party is distancing itself from unity with Leninism, that is, it is rejecting, in particular, the revolutionary essence of the ideology of the world workers' movement. Lack of appreciation for the integrating function of ideology has also been projected into the party's statutes, where the ideological unity of the party and the indispensable conditions for its active unity are not enshrined. The HSP is tolerant of its members' ideological weltanschauung and, from no viewpoint represents a "monolithic" unity but represents, more or less, a free union of various streams and platforms. By the end of the congress, in the words of its newly elected president, Rezso Nyers, the founding members, that is, the delegates themselves, had identified themselves as being of six streams, among which were the two extremist wings as well as the moderates. In fact, all the congress' decisions were reached as a result of compromises between them. The instability of this internal party structure will be, obviously, a continuing weakness in the party's capability for action.

The delegates paid a great deal of attention to answering the question of whose party it will be. In the statutes it is stated that it is a party of people living by their own labor and a party of small entrepreneurs. Such a demarcation of the membership's composition is a new category but, at the same time, it creates scope for the workers. The new party is not striving for a pointedly workers' character; the congress itself was overwhelmingly a gathering of the intelligentsia, professors, doctors, and party functionaries, and even a disc jockey could be found among the delegates. What kind of attraction the HSP has for the industrial and agricultural workers will be vital. This will depend on its ability to express and assert their aims. A completely new category is "the supporting party member." This has obviously been conceived for the needs of the electoral struggle. There could be a significant contribution in this.

Who will the HSP unite itself with and whom or what does it regard as an opponent? This is another one of its trademarks. We will find the answer in its statutes, where it is stated that "it wants to maintain a close and organic alliance both with the reformist leftist parties in Central and Eastern European countries and also with the reformist communist, socialist, and social democratic parties of the world". The congress press representative, Janos Barabas, explained this more precisely at an international news conference during the congress. As the criterion for the party's ties of alliance he highlighted the attitude toward reforms. We assume that he had in mind the Hungarian conception of reforms, according to which our Communist Party of Czechoslovakia is not a reformist party, therefore, it was given the unflattering label "step-fraternal party."

We are not denying anyone their right to an opinion; we are only pointing out that reform criteria are neither empty negations nor U-turns, but positive changes to the unsatisfactory aspects of social life.

We are aware of the Hungarian congress' decisions and we will do everything on our part to ensure the continuation and further strengthening of relations between our parties. We recognize the difference of approach to certain issues as an element of restructuring in individual countries, an element that has to be respected, not to be doubted, or regarded as an insurmountable barrier.

We have a common opponent—everything that prevents development; everything that prevents reforms in Hungary and restructuring and the approach toward full-value socialism in our country.

Jakes Message to Hungary's Nyers Published

AU1210163489 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 11 Oct 89 p 1

[CTK report: "Congratulations to R. Nyers"]

[Text] Prague—Milos Jakes, general secretary of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia Central Committee, sent the following congratulatory telegram to Rezso Nyers on the occasion of his election to the post of chairman of the Hungarian Socialist Party:

Dear Comrade, allow me to congratulate you on your election to the post of chairman of the Hungarian Socialist Party. I express the conviction that the traditional comradely cooperation between progressive forces, which has always played a positive role in mutual relations, will be maintained between our parties and will continue to develop for the benefit of good-neighborly relations, friendship, socialism, and peace.

Leaders Congratulate GDR on Anniversary

AU1010193089 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 7 Oct 89 p 1

["Cordial Comradely Greetings and Sincere Congratulations; Our Representatives' Telegram on the 40th Anniversary of the Founding of the GDR"]

[Text] Prague—Milos Jakes, general secretary of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia [CPCZ] Central Committee, and Ladislav Adamec, CSSR premier, have sent the following congratulatory telegram to Erich Honecker, general secretary of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] Central Committee, and Willi Stoph, chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers, on the occasion of their country's National Day—the 40th anniversary of the founding of the German Democratic Republic:

Dear Comrades,

On behalf of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia Central Committee, the Government and people of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, and on our own behalf we are sending you, the Socialist Unity Party of Germany Central Committee, the State Council the Council of Ministers, and the people of the German Democratic Republic our cordial comradely greetings and sincere congratulations on the occasion of your National Day—the 40th anniversary of the founding of the German Democratic Republic.

The founding of the German Democratic Republic on 7 October 1949 opened the way for the establishment on German soil for the first time in history of a peace loving workers' and peasants' state.

We esteem the great successes that the German Democratic Republic has achieved in the construction of a socialist society. It has become an advanced state distinguished by its high level of economic, social, and cultural development and by the high standard of living of its people. Its consistent foreign policy aimed at reducing international tension, disarmament, and the preservation of peace have earned it international authority. The results which have been achieved are a credit to the working people of the German Democratic Republic, led by the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, and to their creative capabilities and endeavors. We value the fact that the GDR is a reliable partner within the framework of the Warsaw Pact and CEMA.

The 40 years of the German Democratic Republic's existence are filled with the comprehensive expansion and intensification of the ties of friendship and close cooperation between the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and the Socialist Unity Party of Germany and between the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic and the German Democratic Republic. We are convinced that they will continue to be further developed on the basis of the treaty on friendship, cooperation, and mutual assistance between the CSSR and the GDR and in the spirit of socialist internationalism to the benefit of the people of both countries.

On your significant anniversary we wish you, dear Comrades, and the Communists and people of the German Democratic Republic new successes in constructing your socialist society.

Alois Indra, CPCZ Central Committee Presidium member and chairman of the CSSR Federal Assembly, sent a congratulatory telegram to Horst Sindermann, member of the SED Central Committee Politburo and president of the GDR People's Chamber, on the occasion of his country's National Day.

Daily Notes Calls for Glasnost in GDR

AU1210122389 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 11 Oct 89 p 7

[Vladimir Plesnik Berlin dispatch: "Unauthorized Demonstrations in the GDR; GDR Press: Streets at Night Are Not a Place to Conduct Dialogue"]

[Excerpts] Berlin (from our correspondent)—Problems need to be solved in a constructive way, in dialogue. Streets at night are definitely not the most suitable place to bring about changes—such are the central ideas to be found in the Tuesday [10 October] issues of the main GDR dailies, in their commentaries on the events of the last few days.

JUNGE WELT, the newspaper of the FDJ [Free German Youth] youth organization, publishes an appeal addressed to the FDJ leadership in Friedrichstadtpalast which calls for a discussion on the causes making young people leave the GDR. We must talk about them if we want the majority of young people to stay here, so that

we can improve socialism with them. We are thinking of the possibilities of travel, supplies, the media information policy, the enforcement of justice in remuneration, the policy of subsidies. We expect our information media to engage in this dialogue. [passage omitted]

Opening the National Festival of Documentary Films in Leipzig Axel Kaspar, chairman of the organization committee, called for a discussion, in the interest of the state, on the minority that is leaving the GDR. It is necessary to speak openly and frankly about everything that worries the people. This must be done by our media, not by the enemy, he said. [passage omitted]

Socialist Visitors' 'Inordinate Purchases' Viewed

AU1110145489 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 7 Oct 89 p 2

[Interview with Jiri Broz, general director of the Central Customs Administration, by Eva Sadilkova: "Are Customs Measures Effective?"—date and place of interview not given; opening paragraph is RUDE PRAVO introduction]

[Excerpts] Federal Ministry of Foreign Trade decree No. 41 of 1985 on noncommercial exports of goods and the executory provisions of the customs law were changed last November. We asked Jiri Broz, general director of the Central Customs Administration, how the more rigorous customs regime has stood the test of practice. [passage omitted]

[Sadilkova] Why were the measures [of November 1988] adopted?

[Broz] A continuously growing number of visitors had been arriving in our country not in order to get to know it, but simply to shop here. We are not a large country and the inordinate purchases by tourists, particularly by those from the Polish People's Republic and the Hungarian People's Republic, and partly also by those from the USSR, thus began to exceed the possibilities of our internal market. The purchases were centered on selected types of merchandise, many of which are scarce even in our country, or have to be imported for freely convertible currencies. The concentration of these purchases in border areas, particularly in their centers and larger towns, also had a negative impact, especially in the pre-Christmas period.

[Sadilkova] Have the measures fulfilled their purpose?

[Broz] I believe that they have. They helped to stabilize the market in the pre-Christmas period last year, even in the most frequented parts of the republic such as the Ostrava area, West Slovakia, and, partly, East Slovakia. Unfortunately, the development this year has been unfavorable again.

[Sadilkova] In what respect?

[Broz] Starting in the summer months, the number of 1-day or 2-day trips, whose sole purpose is shopping, started to increase again. The situation has come to a head in the last few weeks, owing in particular to Polish tourists. Some measures regulating inordinate purchases of gasoline by citizens of the Hungarian People's Republic—I am thinking of the imposition of fees on the export of gasoline in containers and of the introduction of vouchers for gasoline purchases—have already been adopted. Although the causes of these phenomena—the shortage of some types of goods in neighboring states or price differences—are sufficiently known, they cannot be made up for on the Czechoslovak market and our citizens must not be made to foot the bill for them. [passage omitted]

[Sadilkova] In defiance of the customs measures, goods worth many millions continue to be taken out of the country illegally. Situations occur on our borders, but also in our shops, to which our citizens rightly call attention....

[Broz] I believe that the legislative groundwork for preventing the undesirable or unauthorized outflow of goods is sufficient. The point now is to ensure, including by way of effective customs checks, that the regulations are respected. Highly conflicting situations are involved at times; our control bodies often work to the limits of their physical potentials. This was graphically demonstrated by the shots from a number of border checkpoints shown on our television in the last few days. We therefore want to find forms—also in cooperation with partners from socialist countries—which would contribute to respect for the needs and possibilities of the Czechoslovak internal market and to calming down the situation at our border crossings.

[Sadilkova] Thank you for the interview.

CSSR-FRG Economic Commission Meets 12 Oct

LD1210144889 Prague CTK in English 1341 GMT 12 Oct 89

[Text] Prague Oct 12 (CTK)—The 13th session of the Intergovernmental Mixed Commission for Economic, Industrial and Technical Cooperation Between Czechoslovakia and the FRG was opened here today.

The Czechoslovak delegation at the session is led by Czechoslovak Deputy Minister of Foreign Trade Josef Pancir and that of the FRG by State Secretary of the FRG Ministry of Economics Dieter Von Wuerzen.

The mixed commission will evaluate development of Czechoslovak- FRG economic relations and conditions of promoting industrial cooperations, which can contribue to an improvement of the structure of Czechoslovak exports to the FRG.

Urban Receives Bavarian Economy Minister

AU1110160189 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 7 Oct 89 p 2

[CTK report: "Days of Bavaria Success"]

[Excerpt] Prague—Yesterday Bohumil Urban, CSSR first deputy premier, received August Lang, Bavarian minister for the economy and transportation, in the Hrzan Palace in Prague. He briefed him on the accelerated implementation of economic reform in the CSSR and on the marked increase in our enterprises' independence, as far as relations with foreign countries are concerned. Minister Lang stressed the continuing interest of Bavarian entrepreneurial circles in cooperation with the CSSR. Both representatives agreed on the successful appraisal of the Days of the Bavarian Economy, which are taking place in Prague and which enable the necessary contacts to be established between both sides. [passage omitted]

Jakes Receives Swedish Communist Party Chief

LD1110110489 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1730 GMT 10 Oct 89

[Text] Milos Jakes, general secretary of the CPCZ [Czechoslovak Communist Party] Central Committee, received in Prague today a delegation of the Swedish Communist Workers Party, headed by its chairman, Rolf Hagel. He briefed the guests on the implementation of the economic reform and social restructuring in our country, including the contents of the current annual party meetings and preparations for the 18th congress of the party. Rolf Hagel said that the process of transformation in the socialist countries in inspiring in its aim to strengthen the socialist character and foundations of the society. He briefed Milos Jakes on the current domestic political situation in Sweden. The two representatives then exchanged views on the international political situation and agreed in their evaluation.

Nicaraguan Communist Party Accused of 'Separatism'

AU1110151289 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 29 Sep 89 p 6

["(BOR)"-signed article: "The Nicaraguan Communist Party's Stance"]

[Text] In one of the recent reports published in RUDE PRAVO it was mentioned that the Nicaraguan Communist Party is an element of the opposition against the Sandinists. This report prompted phoned in and written queries about the Nicaraguan Communist Party's political stance.

Opposition against the Sandinist National Liberation Front (FSLN) is made up of more than two dozen parties, groups, and factions. The overwhelming majority of them, in a broad political spectrum, is to the right of the position occupied by the FSLN. This part portrays the government represented by the Sandinists as a "dictatorship", accuses it of violating the democratic rights and freedoms of citizens, reproaches it for its alliance with Cuba and other socialist states, and so on.

The Nicaraguan Communist Party and some other political parties, for example, the Movement for People's Action (MAP), the Revolutionary Workers' Party (PRT), and the Movement for Revolutionary Unity (MUR), adopt a position that is normally defined as leftist. Although they maintain the opposite, these parties do not proceed from Marxism-Leninism but they select, as a rule, only some of the most radical elements of this teaching and they interpret them with a significant dose of dogmatism and demagogy.

The Nicaraguan Communists are not numerically a large party and their political influence corresponds to this. It operates, in particular, in the larger towns and the proletariat makes up the overwhelming part of its base. They accuse the Sandinists of "betraying the interests of the working class" and of too much tolerance toward the class enemy. They are against the existence of a mixed economy (the state, private, and collective sectors) and they claim that FSLN policy plays into the hands of the domestic and foreign bourgeoisie.

Sectarianism is graphically manifested in the Nicaraguan Communist Party's political stances because it places its own policy above the pressing needs of the unity of the Nicaraguan left. In the 1984 elections it stood as an independent force with its own candidate but it gained only a small number of votes. Later it joined a block of opposition parties in which right-wing forces are in the majority. The MAP, the PRT, and other parties accuse the Nicaraguan Communist Party of opportunism and of being right wing.

The past decades and the years before the victorious revolution have shown that the Sandinists are a political party which represents the interests of the broadest sectors of the population and, moreover, that they are an organized party, a party capable of action, and a party which possesses the resolve and sufficient strengths to defend the revolution.

During the prerevolutionary years, the Sandinists and the Communists cooperated in the struggle against the Somoza dictatorship. After its victory in 1979, the FSLN offered its allies participation in a broad democratic coalition. It is worth noting that Violeta Barrios de Chamorro, today the main representative of the anti-Sandinist right-wing opposition, was until 1981 a minister in the government of national renewal. However, later years brought profound political differences.

Johanes Meets Venezuelan President, Departs 6 Oct

LD0710195489 Prague CTK in English 1545 GMT 7 Oct 89

[Text] Caracas Oct 7 (CTK)—Czechoslovak Foreign Minister Jaromir Johanes has been received during his current official visit to Venezuela by Venezuelan President Carlos Andres Perez.

The two representatives appreciated the existing level of bilateral relations and called for the their further extension in all spheres. They also exchanged views on the main international topics, stressing the need to strengthen peaceful international cooperation.

The Czechoslovak official conveyed to the Venezuelan president Czechoslovak President Gustav Husak's invitation for an official visit to Czechoslovakia. The invitation was accepted.

Minister Johanes has been also received by top representatives of Venezuela's Congress, and government member in charge of foreign trade Gabriela Febres Cordero with whom he discussed some concrete questions linked to Czechoslovak-Venezuelan cooperation.

The Czechoslovak minister later ended his visit to Venezuela and left for home.

Debt-for-Equity Swap With Nigeria Planned

AU0710220989 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 5 Oct 89 p 2

[CTK report: "Exotic Veneers From Africa"]

[Text] Bratislava—The materialization of the construction of a joint veneer plant in Nigeria will permit sought-after exotic veneers from African woods—mahagony, nut, and mansonia [mansonie]—to be supplied to the Czechoslovak furniture industry.

On the basis of the latest trade agreements between the CSSR and Nigeria, the Czechoslovak side pledged to increase direct imports from that country. This is also a result of the endeavor to make fuller use of the assets accrued there by Czechoslovak foreign trade enterprises in past years. Some of these assets will be used to defray the 40-percent Czechoslovak stake in the construction of a joint veneer plant in the Cross River State in Nigeria, which is a federal republic. A 10-percent stake will be covered by the African partner, with the remaining 50 percent of the costs to be divided among private entrepreneurs.

The management of this enterprise, which will produce veneers as a semifinished product suitable for direct application in Czechoslovak furniture plants, will be in the hands of Czechoslovak experts. At present we consume over 10 million square meters of veneers annually, for the import of which we pay in hard currency.

Most basic engineering equipment should come from our manufacturers, more specifically, from the Kralovo Pole Engineering Works Brno, Vihorlat Snina, and Pneumatic Technology Nove Mesto nad Vahom. The final assembly of the deliveries will be secured by Chepos Brno. The design documentation will be worked out by Lignoprojekt Bratislava.

According to the projections of the Czechoslovak Chamber of Commerce and Industry, whose representatives have already conducted general negotiations, the project should be implemented in the years 1990-93.

UN Envoy on Aid for Developing Countries

AU1110154389 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 10 Oct 89 p 7

[CTK report: "Need for Wide-Ranging Cooperation: The CSSR's Standpoint on Problems of the World Economy"]

[Excerpts] New York (CTK correspondent)—The need to extend the positive tendencies in international relations without delay to the economic sphere was stressed by Ambassador Evzen Zapotocky, the CSSR's standing representative in the United Nations Organization in New York, yesterday. [passage omitted]

Speaking at the debate of the UN General Assembly's economic and financial committee, the Czechoslovak representative pointed out that the problem of indebtedness cannot be considered in isolation but only in the context of the normalization of international trade, the restructuring of currency and financial relations in the world, the stabilization of the world commodity markets, and the developed states' greater aid for developing countries. [passage omitted] E. Zapotocky stressed that last year Czechoslovakia appropriated more than 1 percent of its national income for economic and humanitarian aid for developing countries. [passage omitted]

Democratic Initiative's Aims Criticized

AU1210155789 Prague ZEMEDELSKE NOVINY in Czech 10 Oct 89 p 2

[Article by Rudolf Janik, candidate of sciences in the CPCZ Central Committee Marxism-Leninism Institute in Prague: "We Cannot Turn Back: Democratic Traditions and Democratic Initiative"]

[Excerpts] Democratic Initiative is one of those so-called initiatives that materialized as a portent of "the year of the eights." The anniversaries commemorated in 1988 (the evolution of the Czechoslovak Republic, Munich, Victorious February, and 21 August 1968) were to have been the pretext for "the popularization of initiative movements." The specific reasons for the appearance of Democratic Initiative, however, lie in the domestic antisocialist forces' need to demonstrate their activity in front of foreign anticommunist centers. At the same time, the attempt to use our society's restructuring and democratization for the aim of introducing unrest and uncertainty into society also plays a role here.

Democratic Initiative's attempt is intended to be "the renewal of Czech society for the purpose of its broad democratization." In this regard, Democratic Initiative intends to orient itself toward asserting "a popular policy linked to the democratic traditions of modern Czechoslovak society." One of the people whose legacy the

Democratic Initiative means to implement while choosing an alternative society, a society different from a socialist one, is T. G. Masaryk. It has also outlined the "social principles" from which it wishes to proceed. These are to be "the endeavor for a policy drawing on the legacy of a 1,000-year-old spiritual tradition, the Christian tradition," "the European concept of human rights," and also "the establishment of a new social contract." It proceeds from their other principles that it is vital for Democratic Initiative to link up with the "tradition of modern Czechoslovak society."

Against the People's Interests

A number of various demands expressed in other contexts by Democratic Initiative's founders and activists—Rudolf Battek, Michael Dus, Vaclav Havel, and others—bear out the fact that they perceive the "traditions" of modern Czechoslovak society, first and foremost, in the existence of private ownership relations. "A policy drawn from the legacy of the 1,000-year-old Christian spiritual tradition"—this is, in fact, hardly a Christian policy; it is a policy aimed toward strengthening the dominance of some people over other people and toward the exploitation of man by man.

Their so-called "European concept of human rights" is intended to blacken the name of socialist democracy. "The establishment of a new social contract" is a demand directed against the interests of the working people. Its final aim is the elimination of socialism. The deliberately vague formulation of other demands testifies to the validity of Klement Gottwald's words: "Every counterrevolution keeps quiet about its final aims and reveals its cards only gradually. Counterrevolution always involves, first and foremost, the reversal of the forces of power in its favor; it simply involves power. In this way, everything is achieved for it. In this way, it is given a free hand to introduce its counterrevolutionary plans right to the very end." Nothing other than an attempt to turn back is concealed behind the pretty phrases about "linking up to the traditions of modern Czechoslovak society." [passage omitted]

Unity of Words and Deeds

We have embarked upon the road of society's democratization as the essential condition for accelerating its socioeconomic development. In no way do we have any intention of turning back. The Communist Party of Czechoslovakia's policy proceeds from the fact that in the creative energy, the wisdom, and the experiences of the working people the socialist system has the most appropriate and inexhaustible source for its development. Therefore, we are making use of the progressive traditions of our people and of the revolutionary legacy of the generations of those who struggled against exploitative domination. We are making use of the traditions of the struggle for an independent, just, and unified state—for the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic.

The democratization of our society—these are not big words on humanitarian ideals uttered at variance with reality. This is a purposeful process which pursues the creation of conditions for the full development of the people's initiatives so that they become real and responsible managers in their workplaces and in their towns and villages and so that they actively take part in decisionmaking on the issues that affect them.

Our society's progress would not be served by a return to the traditional model of the bourgeois type of democracy. We must only link up with progressive traditions, traditions in which the path to our present is contained.

1989 Agriculture Results Meet 'Good Standard'

AU1110153789 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 7 Oct 89 p 2

[CTK report: "Deputies in the Rakvice United Agricultural Cooperative"]

[Text] Breclav—A meeting of deputies who are members of the agriculture and food committees of the CSSR Federal Assembly and the Czech and Slovak National Councils was held in the Rakvice United Agricultural Cooperative in Breclav district on Friday [6 October].

Miroslav Zajic, secretary of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia [CPCZ] Central Committee, briefed the deputies on the targets of the CPCZ's agricultural policy up to the end of the current 5-year plan and on the development projected for the Ninth 5-Year Plan. Jaromir Algayer, CSSR minister of agriculture and food, provided information on the current results of agriculture and the food industry, and on the economic situation in agricultural enterprises in the first year of restructuring. Agricultural enterprises now operate under new conditions and, at the same time, are getting ready for the 11h National Congress of United Agricultural Cooperatives. It was stated at the meeting that, according to the present situation, tasks in the production of cereal crops will be fulfilled roughly 104.7 percent. Meat procurement is being fulfilled 103.7 percent, milk procurement 102.9 percent, the procurement of poultry for slaughter 101.7 percent, and egg procurement 104 percent.

The tasks set for the whole of 1989 are expected to be fulfilled and overfulfilled, which will secure the regularity and a good standard of supplies of foodstuffs to the market.

The aim of the meeting was to coordinate activities and, in particular, intensify cooperation between representative bodies and the department of agriculture and food.

Financing of Enterprise Social Programs Outlined

AU1110145389 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 29 Sep 89 p 2

[CTK report: "Changes In Enterprise Social Consumption"]

[Text] Prague—The restructuring of the economic mechanism requires that enterprise social consumption also be adapted to the new conditions. Meanwhile, around Kcs20 billion, 60 percent of which comes from the enterprises' costs, is expended on this annually. Thus, the generation of profit is reduced, which negatively influences the level of prices. This practice does not lead to economy-mindedness.

As Stanislav Sourek, CSSR deputy finance minister, said at Thursday's [28 September] news conference in Prague, the Federal Government is pursuing two goals in dealing with this serious problem. This involves ensuring that the amendment to the management of enterprise social consumption succeeds in regulating its development, and that that part of it which is refunded from costs does not increase excessively. The new principles for managing enterprise social consumption, which originated in 2 years of open discussions between the government and the trade unions, represent a compromise agreement between the supreme state organ and the largest social organization.

The items involved in enterprise social consumption were divided into those that are directly associated with labor force reproduction and which, therefore, will continue to be part of the enterprise's costs. Other items have a superstructure character and, as the stimulating element of enterprise social consumption, will be refunded from profit by means of the cultural and social needs fund (FKSP). Now, and in the future, enterprise catering (around Kcs2.5 billion), the preparation of young people for manual professions (Kcs5.7 billion), adult education and training (Kcs1 billion), Revolutionary Trade Union Movement [ROH] political-organizational and training activity (Kcs300 million), and nurseries and enterprise kindergartens (Kcs1 billion) will continue to be paid for from costs. As far as enterprise health care is concerned, the enterprise will refund operation costs in those centers that are organized in accordance with the health care and social affairs ministries' guidelines. Expenditure on rehabilitation courses that are provided according to the labor code will also be refunded from costs.

Recreational, cultural, physical educational, and sports activity will be fully refunded from the FKSP. It is envisaged that, with the development of self-financing, other items involved in the enterprise social policy will be transferred to that part which is refunded from the FKSP. In this connection, Stanislav Sourak emphasized that the FKSP will have greater importance in the enterprise and that its generation and its level of allocations will be fully within its competence. The enterprises, along with the ROH enterprise committee, will have greater authority in making decisions about allocations to the FKSP. The upper limit on allocations to the FKSP has also been abolished. In a case when the enterprise achieves a disposable profit, the entreprise alone will determine what the FKSP income will be and what priority it will give to enterprise social policy. An enterprise that finds itself in a difficult situation has the so-called minimum allocation to the FKSP guaranteed. This involves subsidies from the state budget. The government proposes that its level be 1.9 percent of payable wages.

Many ROH cultural centers function as a cultural center for the whole area. It would be extremely unfavorable for them to refund their operation and maintenance from the FKSP alone. Therefore, it is laid down in the principles that in such cases the appropriate national committee will provide purposeful subsidies to the extent to which the trade union facility is fulfilling the tasks of cultural life in a specific region. The situation is similar in enterprise pre-school facilities, facilities in which a large number of children of employees from other plants and organizations are placed. They will have to contribute to the costs of the organizer of the nursery or the kindergarten. It is also reckoned that those pre-school facilities that have, more or less, a territorial character will gradually be transferred to the competence of the national committees.

A proposal for a decree on the FKSP, which, along with the principles of the legal amendment to the management of enterprise social consumption will be valid from 1 January 1990, is also being discussed by the trade unions at present.

Fojtik Speech to Primary Organization Chairmen

AU0810203789 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 5 Oct 89 p 1

[CTK report: "Competently in All Kinds of Work"]

[Text] Nymburk—During the chairmen of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia [CPCZ] Primary Organizations Day, which was held in Nymburk District, Jan Fojtik, CPCZ Central Committee Presidium member and secretary, reviewed the contemporary tasks involved in party work, as well as topical issues regarding the international situation.

First of all, he dealt with the current course of the process of restructuring the economic mechanism and democratizing our society's life. Every responsible analysis of the present situation indicates that it would be extremely unwise and irresponsible to want to avoid the changes which profound restructuring demands from our society. This would have grave consequences and would intensify and exacerbate the difficulties that affect us. Their accumulation would sooner or later lead our society into a crisis situation and would threaten the achievements that socialism has brought us, as well as threaten our whole future.

Comrade Jan Fojtik further emphasized that this is the beginning of an unusually complicated process. The guarantor of restructuring's successful progress is political stability and economic balance. If political stability is lacking, the national economy will also break down and, in turn, difficulties in the economy will lead to political instability and social tension.

It is impossible to place the economy's efficiency in contradiction to social policy. "Of course," he said, "we must not reduce this policy to charitable activity or to merely guaranteeing social achievements, regardless of the national productivity of labor and how much an individual deserves to make use of these achievements. If we look at the day-to-day system for motivating an individual's working initiative with the knowledge that the system applied to date has not proved itself, this far from means that we are to give up on socialism and return to a system which is inherently an exploitative one. This is absolutely unacceptable to us."

If the party is to inspire and guide the process of restructuring, is not to lose control over it, and is not to allow unrestraint, it must rely on the trust of the working people and of the majority in society; it cannot enforce its authority, he also stressed.

In another part of his address he dealt with the CPCZ's tasks during the preparatory period for the party's 18th congress. At the present time, in particular, it is necessary to pay heed to strengthening the party's leading role in our society and to guaranteeing its natural authority. He stated that this is the most serious and, at the same time, most sensitive issue in our policy. When he spoke about the necessity of restructuring the party's work, he stated that in no way does this mean a weakening of its overall responsibility for development in our society. However, this involves ensuring that the party organs and the party cadres do not take upon themselves decisionmaking on those issues that are within the full competence of the appropriate organs or responsible functionaries from the state and people's administration, the people's power, and individual members of the National Front. In this regard, he said, it is necessary to thoroughly implement the conclusions from the ninth CPCZ Central Committee session.

He specified greater flexibility, readiness, and a high level of competence and skill in all kinds of work as being topical requirements. The inevitable growth of criticism is associated with this. Thus, as we have no reason for negativism, under appreciating, or disparaging the people's honest endeavors, we also have no reason to conceal our shortcomings or to become satisfied with a half-hearted attitude. We must be critical, especially when people come up against bureaucratic barriers and official indifference. Wiping out bureaucracy and the thoughtless and high- handed treatment of people is the fundamental prerequisite for the party's successful political and ideological work, he stressed.

Socialism, he said later, is undergoing a difficult test in its development. There is no point in concealing or making light of the situation.

In conclusion, Jan Fojtik recalled the recent consultative meeting of the fraternal parties' ideological secretaries, from which emanated the need for cooperation and a comradely and frank exchange of views and experiences in the interest of further detente, disarmament, and asserting the new political thinking, as well as the need for coordination in the struggle against the forces of imperialism which are trying to destroy socialism.

Hager Stresses Dialogue, Unity of Leadership

AU1210185489 Mainz ZDF Television Network in German 1800 GMT 12 Oct 89

[Interview with Kurt Hager, member of the Politburo of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany Central Committee, by unidentified ZDF reporter in Moscow on 12 October—recorded]

[Text] [Unidentified reporter] How did the decision come about to seek dialogue? This was quite a surprise.

[Hager] Why? We are the ones who invented this dialogue in the first place. Now it is a matter of details, these will come over the next few weeks and months.

[Reporter] With whom do you want to start a dialogue? There is no formation so far that you have recognized. Who could be the partner in the talks?

[Hager] We have many partners for talks in all strata of the population. As you know, we have partners in the allied parties, we have social organizations. There is the church, and there are other institutions. It is no problem for us to find interlocutors. There is no lack of interlocutors. If the interlocutors are willing and well-meaning, then we can have a good discussion. However, if they want to call our social order into question, then there is no basis for discussion.

[Reporter] But you yourself stated that the reasons [for the recent exodus of GDR citizens] must always also be sought in oneself. What reasons do you see?

[Hager] Of course we seek the reasons in ourselves; and we will do that extensively in the coming weeks and months. However, the reasons that exist in the GDR basically do not justify leaving one's home. Do not forget that there are still enough citizens in the GDR who are building the country and have the will to strengthen socialism in the GDR.

[Reporter] Were there differences on this among the leadership?

[Hager] There are no differences whatsoever among the leadership. It is a united leadership and it will remain so even if there are constant attempts to—how shall I put it—to invent differences. The leadership will always be a united leadership.

Further on Interview

LD1210161989 Hamburg DPA in German 1513 GMT 12 Oct 89

[Text] Moscow (DPA)—According to Kurt Hager, Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] Politburo member and chief ideologue, there are no divisions within the GDR state and party leadership. "It is a united leadership and it will remain so even if there are constant attempts to invent differences," Hager stated at the opening of the GDR Culture Days in Moscow today. He also announced a continuation in the dialogue with social forces and mentioned the churches in the GDR as interlocutors.

"If the interlocutors are willing and well-meaning, then we can have a good discussion," Hager said, as head of a GDR delegation in Moscow, in an interview with Second German Television, to which DPA had access. "However if they want to call our social order into question, then there is no basis for discussion. However, one cannot say "from one day to another" who the next interlocutor would be.

Hager said he regretted the mass exodus by tens of thousands of GDR citizens over the past few weeks, blaming the "propaganda" from the Federal Republic for contributing to "many having false expectations." The reasons existing in the GDR for the exodus "basically do not justify them leaving their homes," Hager said. "Do not forget there are still enough citizens in the GDR who are building up the country and who have the will to strengthen socialism in the GDR."

On the question of possible political changes in the GDR, the Politburo member pointed to yesterday's statement by the SED Politburo. Announcements were already made on this. "Now it is a matter of the details, these will come over the next few weeks and months," he added. He stated: "There are enough people, with whom the dialogue can and will now be held on further developments."

BILD Says Honecker To Resign 18 October

AU1310080989 Hamburg BILD in German 13 Oct 89 p 1

[Unattributed report: "Honecker—Wednesday Last Work Day"]

[Text] East Berlin—Next Wednesday, 18 October, meaning in 5 days, will be Erich Honecker's last work day as chief of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED]. BILD obtained this exclusive information from top-level SED quarters in East Berlin yesterday [12 October].

On that day, what is already a fact will be formally carried out. Erich Honecker, who has been the GDR's strongman for 13 years, will be deprived of his power. His political ideas are no longer being publicly quoted, and he has not appeared in public for 2 days. SED chief ideologist Kurt Hager is currently in Moscow—allegedly to take part in the "GDR Culture Days," but in reality, in order to discuss with Gorbachev the modalities of Honecker's replacement.

Berlin Paper Welcomes SED Politburo Statement

LD1310084789 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0614 GMT 13 Oct 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The recently published statement of the SED [Socialist Unity Party of Germany] Central

Committee Politburo is being welcomed by party organizations and by many other working people, the BERLINER ZEITUNG stresses today. "Many people expressly let us know of this," the paper writes in a commentary. "They all stress basically two things: First, we will not let the GDR, socialism on German soil, be interfered with by anyone. It is the result of conscientious, hard work, very rich in results in many areas—our work. We will not abandon that.

"Second, we want to and can achieve more, better things. We will come to an understanding about this together, because together we will find the best answers to the questions on the agenda which are important for the further development of our entire society."

The newspaper points in detail to the points cited in the statement, which—according to the paper—are in the hearts of many citizens and which are especially ripe for discussion, open exchange of opinion, understanding.

"Yes, we want to find answers together which are of use to us all," the paper writes further. "And it will not stop at this necessary discussion. Deeds are just as necessary as words. Yes, only the fruits of our joint action count. Nothing will be given to us for free in the future either. But we can certainly do some things, indeed many things better, more rationally, with more efficiency, in a better mood. Reasonable (one should also perhaps say: civilized) dialogue, practicable answers and useful action—that will be good for us; it serves the whole people, it will strengthen the power of the workers and peasants on German soil."

Statement 'Important Lead-in'

LD1310102189 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0818 GMT 13 Oct 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Consistorial President Manfred Stolpe has described the Socialist Unity Party of Germany Central Committee Politburo statement as an "important lead-in" to a comprehensive public debate.

In an interview published in NEUE ZEIT on Friday, the deputy chairman of the Conference of Evangelical Church Directorates in the GDR stresses that a great chance currently exists in the GDR to further shape the country by means of a joint consensus. "That means, at the same time, the urgent request to control impatience at present. Whoever beats the drum loudly now, risks impatience on the streets and in the factories, and endangers the continuation of the positive developments that has commenced now."

In the interview, Manfred Stolpe decisively rejected the subordination of the GDR by the FRG Government. "The demands for 'reform' by means of offers of money are felt to be a threat, and make German-German talks more difficult."

The church representative said further that society must bind together all people in a climate that takes the individual seriously as a partner. "The citizen must be able to feel that he can co-shape political, economic, social, and cultural life comprehensively."

Berlin Mayor Meets With Church Leaders

LD1210213589 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1958 GMT 12 Oct 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—A meeting took place at the Red Townhall between Berlin Mayor Erhard Krack and senior church figures of the Evangelical Church of Berlin-Brandenburg, Bishop Dr Gottfried Forck, Consistory President Manfred Stolpe and General Superintendent Dr Guenter Krusche. The mayor underlined the practice of and necessity for the socialist state, the deputies and state leaders to discuss questions in an open and comprehensive dialogue with all citizens, including with the country's Christians, and to seek ways of further shaping the GDR as a factor for peace in Europe and as a home of socially secure conditions with a broad social commitment in the future. These also include the regular talks in the townhalls of Berlin.

Erhard Krack recalled the positive impulses emanating from the meeting of the State Council chairman with the executive of the Conference of Evangelical Church leaderships in the GDR on 6 March 1978. It is especially important today to preserve these good and useful elements for the climate of further cooperation between state and church. Bishop Dr Forck emphasized that the Evangelical Church too continues to view the agreements of 6 March 1978 as the viable basis of its relations with the state. It wants to help in preserving an atmosphere of trust which makes easier the resolution of problems facing them. The Christians of the GDR also needed to always make use of their possibilities to cooperate and conform in the state. Dr Forck said that he sees completely an agreement "between the Bible saying 'Seek What is Best for a City and Pray For It, for If It Prospers You Prosper Too' with the principle 'Help in Planning, Working and Governing.'"

With regard to the events of the most recent time General Superintendent Dr Krusche commented: "It is not the aim of the church to destabilize the GDR. It is also for the church a question of promoting the participation of citizens in the forming of society."

The participants, in the 2-hour talks which went off in a businesslike and constructive atmosphere, agreed on a continuation of the dialogue and an uncomplicated understanding in resolving questions that both sides hold to be important.

Dresden Mayor Announces Further Talks

LD1210132889 East Berlin Voice of GDR Domestic Service in German 1100 GMT 12 Oct 89

[Text] Mayor Berghofer of Dresden, announced today that there will be further discussions about the situation

in the city. Probems can be solved only through constructive dialogue, not by hurling cobbelstones at state power, he said in an interview.

The discussion with citizens who took part in a demonstration at the weekend had eased the situation. Church representatives, but above all, young people of different strata and philosophies, as well as members of bloc parties sat at the table.

During the discussion, he made it clear that he is not prepared to accept any demands from the "New Forum." The further shaping of socialism, which included the solution of problems, requires that people see each other as equal partners. What is necessary is courage for the discussion, constructiveness, and objectivity. There are no taboos, the Dresden mayor stressed, but socialism is not negotiable.

Trade Union Chief Asks for 'Rational Dialogue'

LD1310102989 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0209 GMT 13 Oct 89

[Excerpts] Berlin (ADN)—The Free German Trade Union Federation [FDGB], as the representative of the interests of the working class, will face up to all the current questions on the agenda and will help in their solution. This was assured by Harry Tisch, chairman of the FDGB National Executive, in an article published Friday in TRIBUENE. "It now is a matter of discussing the current problems with all working people in a trusting, considered, and rational dialogue," Tisch stressed. "Only if we keep talking daily can we see to it that words and deeds, theory and practice concur."

The shaping of developed socialist society is a process of deep- reaching political, economic, social, and intellectual-cultural changes. To advance this process means, on the one hand, building on what has proved itself but, on the other hand, also means finding new answers to new questions. "It would be unreal to close one's eyes to the numerous problems we have to overcome, but one must view the position in a differentiated way. Things are objectively affecting us, in the international context as well, which cannot be solved immediately. However, there are also phenomena of a subjective nature which, if we set to them correctly, can be changed quickly." These questions—such as the continuation of the unity of economic and social policy, the expansion of socialist democracy, supply, media work, travel possibilities, and environmental protection—have been mentioned by many trade unions in recent times. "Answers must and can be worked out only in a broad dialogue with all working people."

Harry Tisch points out that the development of the GDR "is taking place under cosmopolitan conditions and at a time of intensified clashes between the two social systems." In this situation, the initiators of an anti-GDR campaign succeeded in creating confusion among many young people and in prompting them to leave their homeland. ' Despite all external influences in this matter we are ... obliged to ponder those causes that are to be found with us, ourselves. I would like, however, to establish emphatically that millions of people work, learn, and live in our country in a self- assured and aware way. They are giving their best for socialism in the GDR." It is a matter of using this potential of strength, work- readiness, richness of ideas, and creativity even more. The range of existing forms of socialist democracy should be exhausted more comprehensively, and this is a task for trade union management at all levels.

"Contradictions should not be covered over; they must be made productive in a suitable way. They require more open and thorough discussion. We are called on and are ready to make daring and courageous decisions," the trade union chairman underlines. "It is precisely now, in preparation for the 12th Socialist Unity Party of Germany Congress, that all trade unionists are called on to participate in the exchange of thoughts for qualitatively new steps in our development."

Academy Says 'No Question' Should Go Unspoken

LD1210143689 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1305 GMT 12 Oct 89

["Text of statement by GDR Academy of Arts"—ADN headline]

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The Presidium of the GDR Academy of Arts has made the following statement:

The Presidium of the Academy of Arts is of the opinion that 40 years of the existence of the GDR, which we share with our lives and work, is a good reason to begin a comprehensive, open, and public discussion. Socialism, which also sees itself as an alternative to the bourgeois world order, is there for the majority of people and the majority must participate in it for it to gain the intellectual and moral productivity in order to prevail. It needs public thinking as an instrument and corrective agent for its plans as a mediator between historical claims and everyday experience. Being public is necessary at all levels. This requires debate and discipline, solidarity and the personality of each individual—and all of this at the same time.

The knowledgeable and informed person is capable of action. Whoever feels needed, feels at home. We have a stock of grey matter, our country's best currency. It represents the real reserve productive capacity which must be released. That means no question of importance should remain unspoken.

Citizens' everyday experiences shape public opinion in our country. This often contradicts published opinion, a contradiction which leads to a palpable undermining of society's moral and intellectual climate. This contradiction must be solved by a new understanding of the use of the media through which the ritualization of political language, which often no longer conveys the intended meaning, would also be overcome.

Decisions which concern citizens of our country must give reasons and be comprehensible to these citizens. Where this is not the case and anonymity prevails, there develops a helpless awareness of tutelage, which becomes a direct contradiction to the image of the fully fledged citizen of the state that is put about by published opinion.

Trust is based on trust. We need it as the basic value of our dealings with one another. Nobody who worries about the future of our country should be the subject of suspicion.

The GDR has also won an identity through its art. The information that the arts provide about the quality of life and feeling about life, about the actual moral state of the individual, is every bit as indispensible as their humane, utopian content. Social security is unthinkable without the intellectual richness of culture.

When we discuss what our further intentions for this country are, when we compare advantages and disadvantages, opportunities and renunciations, when we expect suggestions, then we motivate people of different generations to relate to the common good and to their own life.

Antifascism, love of peace, social justice, looking after and propagating culture are the basic intellectual positions and lasting fields of work of our society. We have not reached our goal. We have to assert ourselves, having as our neighbor another German state, in another global system, which speaks our language and which has emerged from the same history. We are bound up with it in a contradictory manner in confrontation and cooperation, in human links and political separation. Reason, which we owe our common future, is threatened by forces which still dispute our existence as well as by people who plunder us with an expression of regret.

The social strategy which the 12th party congress has to work out rests on the daily work of millions in all areas of production.

The Academy of Arts offers the experience and capabilities of its members now and in the long-term.

Berlin, 4 October 1989.

Cultural League Demands 'Imperative Renewal'

LD1210151889 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1326 GMT 12 Oct 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The following communique was published concerning a sitting of the Presidium of the Cultural League of the GDR:

On 9 October 1989, the Presidium of the Cultural League analyzed the results of the league's work since the 11th League Congress and discussed the tasks facing the Cultural League in the immediate future. The Presidium thanks all fellow members of the League for their successful and devoted work, which involved many sacrifices, in implementing the program of action for the benefit of intellectual life, peace, and our environment. A large part of the Presidium's meeting was taken up by the discussion of current political events. The Presidium shares the concern of many League members and partners in discussion from all areas (bezirke) about the situation that has evolved, and calls on executives and committees to use our forces, together with all social partners, for the further development of socialism and socialist democracy in our country.

We decisively condemn the hate-filled psychological war that is being waged against the GDR through the media of nationalist forces in the FRG. This campaign endangers the process of detente and stability on the most sensitive border in Europe.

We are very disturbed by the fact that many thousands of people are leaving their homeland, our country. The activity of the opponents of socialism in this is clear to everyone, but we are also asking ourselves why we have not succeeded in winning over, above all, young people among the emigrants to the hard but promising life here.

The intrusive demands for reforms that opponents of socialism hand to us daily cannot keep us from reforming what we ourselves consider to be urgently necessary in the interests of socialism. In the past, the Cultural League decided in favor of the humanist renaissance of society against capitalist restoration. Today we do not do things any differently: A broad policy of peace and dialogue of reason, the GDR as an antifascist alternative, and social security and real humanism are, to us, lasting.

We demand the imperative renewal of our society, above all by open discussions on all economic, political and intellectual-cultural questions in our lives taking place in the clubs of the intelligentsia, and in all events staged by the Cultural League.

We strongly support the voice of our deputies, executives, and our expert members being heard and taken into account by state bodies. The aim must be a richer cultural life everywhere. The most important topics of our times must be discussed openly, realistically and constructively in "SONNTAG," our weekly newspaper on cultural policy. The resolution of our 11th League Congress, "What we want!" still gives us a valid orientation for our work today. In preparation for the 12th SED Party Congress we intend to help secure what has been achieved and to continue it, and will put forward proposals on what has to be changed with commitment and without delay. Our country needs all ideas and forces for peace, democracy, and socialism, as humanity's great ideas cannot be realized in an exploitative order.

Civil Rights, Church Groups Consider UN Appeal

LD1210194589 Hamburg DPA in German 1510 GMT 12 Oct 89

[Text] East Berlin (DPA)—East Berlin civil rights and church groups, with the aid of foreign governments, intend to turn to the United Nations if all the detained demonstrators, who, without resorting to violence on the streets spoke out in favor of reforms, are not set free soon. According to information today, the vigil at the Gethsemane Church in East Berlin is said to now have about 100 detailed reports of those affected, in which kickings, beatings, and other forms of violence used by the security forces, are described. Amnesty International has also been alerted.

As was stated last night to about 2,000 people in the church, according to the reports there had in some cases been "indescribable brutality" from the police and the Stasi [state security officers] during the arrests and subsequent interogations. The cases reported refer to the events in East Berlin.

Church people in Dresden previously called for the release of all non-violent protesters. At the same time, they expressed understanding for the sentencing of criminals who badly injured policemen, and vandalized railway stations and other installations in Dresden a week ago.

The Peace and Human Rights Initiative announced in East Berlin that if non-violent demonstrators were not released they would call in several governments in the East and West with a plea to bring these incidents before the United Nations. Media representatives from several countries also observed attacks by the security forces on 7 October. Some of them were themselves beaten and some were taken into temporary police custody.

As a result of the talks between Bishop Gottfried Forck and other clergy, with East Berlin Mayor Krack, there are plans to form a 12-person group of critical citizens who will participate in the dialogue. Forck said he received a promise from Krack the accusations concerning the violent actions of the security forces would be followed up. It is still open on how the dialogue with the city leadership will be pursued and how this group will be put together. There is a similar group in Dresden. According to his interlocutors, Krack spoke in favor of movement on opportunities to travel and on media policy.

According to church groups, around 150 people of the several hundred "taken into custody" in East Berlin are still in police custody. Fifteen young people were sentenced to several months imprisonment and 25 received large fines.

Members of the Association of Graphic Artists have also expressed their shock at the brutality of the police at a meeting in East Berlin. Their colleagues had also been arrested.

Meanwhile, GDR musicians have accused the Free German Youth [FDJ] paper JUNGE WELT of spreading "partial truths, half truths and lies" about their latest talks with FDJ leader Eberhard Aurich. These sentiments were expressed by Dietmar Halbhuber. He announced at the Gethsemane Church that he and his colleagues expected the paper to publish a correction he wrote himself by Friday at the latest. The background to the talks with Aurich was a resolution by the musicians in which they expressed their concern at the situation in the GDR and made accusations against its government. In the meantime, several hundred artists have signed the resolution.

Liberal Democrats Call for Social Reform

LD1310103389 Hamburg DPA in German 0847 GMT 13 Oct 89

[Text] Berlin (DPA)—The GDR's Liberal Democratic Party (LDPD) has urgently appealed for social reform. The LDPD resolutely supports "the breaking open of social and political encrustations and giving up the obsolete from history not only verbally but in deed." Manfred Gerlach, party chairman and deputy chairman of the Council of State, in a speech printed in today's party newspaper DER MORGEN, states that there is need for "critical re-examination of the effective means and limits of economic, social, political, and moral driving forces to give free space to the performance principle."

"We increasingly feel that, when it is a matter of putting this principle into effect, hindrances, which still almost insurmountably stand in the way of the development of individuality and creativity, have to be smashed and cleared away. Conformity and hypocrisy, sometimes disguised as upholding the tried and trusted and as loyalty to resolutions, are counterproductive; above all they cause people to renounce commitment and thus performance, to withdraw into their private lives, to become excluded, and finally to leave—in one way or another—the GDR," Gerlach said.

He is in favor of allowing citizens' movements to take part in the dialogue on change. "Public affairs require democratic dialogue between all social forces," Gerlach stated. "Of course, citizens' movements too, which are not organized in a party or without having so far been active within the National Front, and which want to take part in a dialogue in a democratic manner and in accordance with the constitution," should be included. The LDPD differentiates between citizens "who publicly criticize government policy, reject it or at least want to see it modified, and enemies of the workers' and peasants' state." The former should be included in public debates, the latter should be put in their place—by the appropriate methods!"

Margot Honecker Calls for 'Open Climate'

AU1210121089 Hamburg DIE WELT in German 12 Oct 89 p 1

["hrk/Co/rmc" report: "Will the SED Leadership Bow to the Demand for Reforms?"]

[Excerpts] Bonn/Berlin—In the person of chief ideologist and Politburo member Kurt Hager, for the first time a leading functionary of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] from the inner circle around state and party leader Erich Honecker has come out in favor of renewal in the GDR and has thus reacted to the mass protests by tens of thousands of people over the past few days. [passage omitted]

Erich Honecker's wife Margot, who belongs to the "hawks" in the SED leadership, surprisingly spoke up in favor of an "open climate" in a interview which became known yesterday. This is "decisive," she said. On Tuesday [10 October] the GDR's state television for the first time expressed understanding for the concerns of the demonstrators. In the East Berlin newspapers voices of advocates of a broad open dialogue are increasing. A large number of Central Committee members were called for the regular session of the SED Politburo on Tuesday. It was said that this is usual only if very pressing topics are discussed. At the session all topical questions in connection with the mass demonstrations were allegedly discussed. Well-informed sources said that the decision that the security forces should exercise restraint was made by Politburo member Egon Krenz, who is responsible for security matters.

According to a report by the Berlin RIAS-Television station, the GDR church leadership, chaired by Bishop Gottfried Forck, has started negotiations with the SED leadership. The station further reports that the East Berlin Bezirk leadership of the Free German Youth presented an offer for talks to the opposition groups of the city yesterday night. In the meantime, it has been learned that the 20 Leipzig citizens' representatives, who are in favor of reforms, have proposed that Hans Modrow, first secretary of the Dresden Bezirk SED leadership, participate in the next round of dialogue on 16 October. SED functionary and Dresden Mayor Berghofer, who is considered as oriented toward reforms, could play a key role in the attempt to develop a "dialogue model" between the SED and the opposition. [passage omitted]

Ministry Sets Conditions for CSSR Travel

LD1210190989 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1744 GMT 12 Oct 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The press department of the GDR Ministry of the Interior announces in connection with the temporary cancellation of passport and visa free travel for GDR citizens to the CSSR, that applications for travel can be submitted for personal reasons. Applications for travel within the framework of vacations, exchanges of the state organs, combines, enterprises and institutions, and cooperatives and social organizations, for convalescence holidays, tourist visits on the basis of treaties on tourist services, and applications for urgent reasons will be received by departments of the German People's Police, passport, and registration services.

In addition to this, applications for a visa to travel to the CSSR can be submitted when:

—It is proved by means of hotel reservations or invitations from CSSR citizens, among other things, that a vacation in the CSSR is to take place without utilization of tourist facilities;

—A visit is planned for the further strengthening of personal and collective relations and contacts through trade union, FDJ [Free German Youth], or sports organizations;

—GDR citizens want to visit relatives or friends who are temporarily employed in the CSSR on behalf of the GDR and an invitation from the ambassador or head of the Consulate-General is submitted;

—GDR citizens with permanent residence in the CSSR are to be visited and an invitation from the latter is supplied;

—Pensioners and disabled people can apply to visit the CSSR for personal reasons without preconditions.

All citizens who have queries about travel to the CSSR can continue to address themselves in confidence to the departments of the German People's Police, passport, and registration section, the communique states.

Leaders' Public Appearances for 28 Sep-3 Oct

AU0610152689

[Editorial Report] East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German from 29 Sep to 4 Oct reports the following public appearances of GDR leaders (date of publication and page number in parentheses):

The following GDR leaders attended a festive event on the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the founding of the PRC in Berlin on 29 September: Erich Honecker, general secretary of the Central Committee (CC) of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany (SED) and chairman of the GDR Sate Council; Willi Stoph, chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers; members and candidate members of the Politburo Hermann Axen, Horst Dohlus, Joachim Herrmann, Werner Jarowinksy, Heinz Kessler, Guenther Kleiber, Werner Krolikowski, Erich Mielke, Guenter Mittag, Guenter Schabowski, and Gerhard Schuerer. (30 September-1 October, p 1)

The following GDR leaders attended a meeting with antifascists in Berlin on 3 October: Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED CC and chairman of the GDR State Council; Willi Stoph, chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers; members and candidate members of the Politburo Horst Sindermann, president of the

People's Chamber, Hermann *Axen*, Hans-Joachim Boehme, Horst Dohlus, Werner Eberlein, Kurt *Hager*, Joachim Herrmann, Werner Jarowinsky, Heinz Kessler, Guenther Kleiber, Egon Krenz, Werner Krolikowski, Siegfried Lorenz, Erich Mielke, Guenter Mittag, Erich Mueckenberger, Alfred Neumann, Guenter Schabowski, Harry Tisch, Inge Lange, Gerhard Mueller, Margarete Mueller, Gerhard Schuerer, and Werner Walde. (4 October, p 1)

Politburo members Kurt Hager and Joachim Herrmann attended a wreath-laying ceremony at the Ossietzky memorial in Berlin on 3 October. (4 October, p 1)

Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED CC and chairman of the GDR State Council, appointed and promoted generals in Berlin; date not given. (3 October, p 1)

Willi Stoph, chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers, presented awards to enterprise collectives in Berlin on 28 September. (29 September, p 1) Stoph attended a reception given by Zhang Dake, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the PRC, on 28 September in Berlin. (29 September, p 2) Stoph received Bertel Haarder, minister of education and research of the Kingdom of Denmark, in Berlin on 28 September. (29 September, p 2) Politburo member Horst Dohlus presented awards to the working people of the Tire Works in Fuerstenwalde on 28 September. (29 September, p 3)

Politburo member Werner Eberlein, first secretary of the Magdeburg SED Bezirk leadership, visited the Otto Grotewohl Construction Combine in Magdeburg on 2 October. (3 October, p 1)

Politburo member Kurt Hager presented awards to workers of the Union Machine Tool Factory in Gera on 2 October. (3 October, p 3)

Politburo member Joachim Herrmann awarded an honorary banner to the collectives of the Wool Combing Works in Leipzig on 28 September. (29 September, p 3)

Politburo member Werner Jarowinsky, secretary of the SED CC, attended the opening of a new facility at the Cold Rolling Mill in Bad Salzungen on 28 September. (29 September, p 1)

Army General Heinz Kessler, Politburo member and minister of national defense, awarded banners to Civil Defense formations in Berlin; date not given. (2 October, p 2) He presented awards to army members in Berlin on 2 October. (3 October, p 2)

Politburo candidate member Inge Lange visited a fur combine in Schkeuditz; date not given. (3 October, p 3)

Politburo member Siegfried *Lorenz* visited the Heckert Works in Karl-Marx-Stadt on 29 September. (30 September-1 October, p 4) Siegfried Lorenz visited the VEB Aprotex in Limbach-Oberfrohna on 2 October. (3 October, p 2)

Army General Erich Mielke, Politburo member and minister of national defense, presented awards to collectives responsible for supporting the national economy in Berlin; date not given. (29 September, p 4)

Politburo member Guenter Mittag spoke at a ceremony of the USSR Embassy marking the 40th anniversary of the founding of the GDR in Berlin; date not given. (3 October, p 2)

Politburo candidate member Margarete Mueller visited an agricultural combine in Ferdinandshof near Greifswald; date not given. (29 September, p 4)

Politburo member Erich Mueckenberger visited the Klement-Gottwald Works in Schwerin on 29 September. (30 September-1 October, p 4)

Politburo member Alfred Neumann attended a reception given by Tolo Beavogiu, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Republic of Guinea, in Berlin on 2 October. (3 October, p 2)

Politburo member Guenter Schabowski attended the opening of the Berlin festival on 29 September (30 September-1 October, p 1); attended the opening of a new facility at the Berlin Zoo on 29 September (30 September-1 October, p 2); and attended the unveiling ceremony of the Ossietzky memorial in Berlin on 2 October. (3 October, p 1)

Politburo candidate member Gerhard Schuerer attended a dinner given in honor of a PRC delegation headed by Yao Yilin, member of the CPC Central Committee Standing Committee and vice premier of the PRC State Council, in Berlin on 2 October. (3 October, p 1)

Politburo member Horst Sindermann, president of the GDR People's Chamber, awarded an honorary banner to the workers of the Agrochemical Combine in Piesteritz on 28 September. (29 September, p 1)

Politburo candidate member Werner Walde visited the Transportation Equipment, Conveying Equipment, and Crane Works in Sanftenberg on 29 September (30 September-1 October, p 4) and attended the opening of a new electrified railway stretch in Cottbus; date not given. (2 October, p 1)

GDR Citizens' Crossings to Austria Continue

LD0910101389 Budapest MTI in English 0944 GMT 9 Oct 89

[Text] Budapest, October 9 (MTI)—About 30,000 GDR citizens have crossed the Hungarian-Austrian border since the Hungarian Government's measure introduced four weeks ago, Colonel Balazs Novaki, national deputy commander-in-chief of the Hungarian Border Guard, told MTI. The numoer of GDR citizens leaving does not seem to decrease, he said, between Friday morning and Monday morning, as many as 2,000 people crossed the Hungarian-Austrian border.

He also says that since the agreement between Czechoslovakia and the GDR on restricting travellers' traffic between the two countries was introduced, the number of illegal arrivals from Czechoslovakia has fallen to a minimum. While earlier a couple of hundred people fled accross this border stretch a day, the number has fallen to two or three by now.

Straub Returns Following Berlin Festivities

LD0810004889 Budapest MTI in English 2117 GMT 7 Oct 89

[Text] Budapest, October 7 (MTI)—F Bruno Straub, president of the Presidential Council, returned to Budapest from Berlin on Saturday evening.

Mr Straub headed a state and HSWP Hungarian Socialist Workers Party] delegation to Berlin at the invitation of Erich Honecker, chairman of the Council of State of the German Democratic Republic, to attend the ceremonies marking the 40th anniversary of the founding of the GDR.

Editorial on Romanian Attitude Published

AU0610183489 Budapest MAGYAR NEMZET in Hungarian 4 Oct 89 p 1

[Editorial by Tibor Varkonyi: "A Brezhnev-Substitute"]

[Text] I am reading an interview given by Nikolay Shishlin, one of Gorbachev's foreign policy advisers, to LIBERATION in Paris. Among other things, Shishlin says that every socialist country is an individual laboratory which experiments with social models. "Romania too?"—the journalist asked clearly to provoke him. Yes, Romania too, Shishlin answered, a laboratory of negative experiences.

Almost as a proof, the Solidarity daily in Warsaw, GAZETA WYBORCZA published an exciting and also shocking document a few days later. The Polish ambassador in Bucharest was summoned by Romanian officials and informed of Ceausescu's personal position that, all that is happening in Poland—the election of Mazowiecki as premier and the creation of a coalition government—is far from being a Polish internal affair and it affects the entire Warsaw Pact, and Romania is urging a joint position and a common stand from the other member countries too.

One has to rub one's eyes to make sure they do not deceive him while reading this news. Has Brezhnev risen again with his doctrine of limited sovereignty? Has Europe and its Eastern part fallen back into its former state of 20 years ago? Are there no more Gorbachev's, restructuring, glasnost? Has time come to a standstill? The questions are more practical and even more painful. No matter what criticism is addressed to Romania's attitude and no matter what reports are published about the shocking practice in that country, the answer is always automatically the same. They automatically refer to the inviolable principles of national sovereignty, noninterference in internal affairs, and independent policymaking, as well as the inalienable right to follow their own path. Do they apply two standards? It seems they do. Everything there is inviolable, and everything that happens elsewhere could even justify military action. We do not intend to falsify things, as they did not formulate all this so openly, but this was distinctly the meaning of their warning addressed to the Polish communist party.

Another issue. According to Khruschev's founding intentions, the Warsaw Pact is a defensive organization aimed at halting and repelling the supposed foreign attacks. However, history has shown that this organization has played mostly police roles; it is true that only Soviet troops interfered in Hungary in 1956, but the entire Warsaw Pact (with the exception of Romania!) took action in Prague in 1968 with the clear intention of "establishing order." Fortunately, both the judgment and practice have changed considerably since then, and accordingly, in harmony with Moscow, Hungarian foreign policy thinks that the Warsaw Pact should be given its original role back; it should really be a defensive military bloc free of ideological or police missions, and should be dissolved together with NATO at a proper international time. Therefore, nobody tries to dismantle the Warsaw Pact and to loosen its discipline, and both Hungary and Poland accept this geopolitical reality, and so do basically the non-Communist formations, but nobody wants to have anything to do with interference by the Warsaw Pact. It seems that Bucharest, and particularly Ceausescu himself, are exceptions.

The Romanian document presented to the Polish ambassador also gives us an opportunity to go back in time a little and discuss some facts of the past. As is well known, Romania has not always been such a loyal and disciplined interpreter of the Warsaw Pact. At the time when a coordinated foreign policy was in vogue and every international step was preceded by coordination, Romania was often conspicuous with its separate stand and original views. At the time, in its great zeal of industrialization and its great pursuit of percentages, Romania did not recoil from obtaining good marks from the West, and it spoke relatively rarely about the "interests of the most reactionary circles." It is also true that, although presumably all this disturbed it, the Soviet

Union of those years did not worry too much about this Romanian attitude because the Romanian domestic order and the preservation of Stalinist fossils provided guarantees against any shocks there.

Another aspect of this situation is that, in retrospect, and reevaluating its own earlier international activity, the new Hungarian leadership has also recognized the legitimacy of many Romanian diplomatic decision at the time, for example, the considerations in avoiding a brutal confrontation with China, and a display of a sense of balance in maintaining relations with Israel; thus, Bucharest could be present everywhere in the Middle East, and this did not hurt its relations with the PLO either. All this was a logical continuation of traditions, of something that—we have to admit—has always been a clever and flexible Romanian diplomacy.

It is also absolutely obvious that Warsaw—or the Polish United Workers Party or Solidarity—does not need Hungarian defense and the support of their positions and practice. We do not do this in order to justify our own domestic policy future and our new elections. However, this episode is definitely important for us too. There have been repeated Romanian accusations that Hungary is giving a free hand to "chauvinism and revanchism", and although often in a ridiculous way, but with a clear intention of threatening us, Romania is also trying to incite others against us by claiming that "fascist and extremist-right" manifestations are gaining ground in Hungary. The warning addressed to the Poles makes it clearer than the sun that what is separating us from the Ceausescu regime is not only the national minority issue, the humiliation and oppression of our Hungarian brothers in Transylvania, but also something much deeper than that: the concept of socialism and democracy, an entire social model. The attitude toward the Hungarian minority is an organic part of all this

Let us mention a single sentence at random from the aforementioned document: "The result of the Polish parliamentary elections should not lead to eclipsing the interests of the Polish nation and the Polish working class." A tough lesson for the Polish voters. They did not know what they were voting for. However, Ceausescu did know. The Polish working class needs lecturing because it incorrectly evaluated the lessons of the past 40 years and the consequences of the economic, social, and spiritual crisis. If they had been wiser, they would have no doubt voted for the 15 watt electric bulb, shivering in winter months, the chicken legs, the disciplining of their private lives, and the compulsory gynecological pestering of their women. But let us not be overrun by our temper. This document speaks for itself.

Government Foreign Policy To Remain 'Unchanged'

LD1210052589 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 2100 GMT 11 Oct 89

[Excerpt] The main direction of the Hungarian Government's foreign policy will remain unchanged after the formation of the Hungarian Socialist Party [HSP]. This was stated by State Secretary Laszlo Kovacs, who briefed the Parliament's Foreign Affairs Committee on recent international developments. Miklos Martin-Kovacs reports.

[Martin-Kovacs] In my opinion, the relations between the HSP and the Western social democratic parties will be modified and different kinds of relations to those hitherto between the HSP and the Socialist Internationale can come about, adding that the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party also had cordial relations with most Western European socialist, social democratic parties. The creation of the HSP creates conditions even better than hitherto for these relations. Also, I consider it necessary that the intellectual capacities of the opposition parties be brought into the workplace—work whose aim is that Hungarian foreign policy be even more a foreign policy which represents all-nation interests. [passage omitted]

Janos Kadar Society Converts to Communist Party

LD1210174189 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1100 GMT 12 Oct 89

[Pal Emoed reports from the Janos Kadar Society news conference]

[Text] Almost 71 years after the creation of the Hungarian Communist Party, Roland Antoniewicz announced in the Lukacs Cafeho at 1100 this morning that the Janos Kadar Society has transformed itself into a communist party after their provisional Central Committee [CC] made the decision on 10 October. They will not change their name. It will remain the Janos Kadar Society [KJSz].

Antoniewicz introduced himself as the first secretary of the provisional CC of the KJSz. In the first hour of the press conference no mention was made about the specific number of members but (?they) emphasized with firmness that the KJSz was the only movement that could act as successor to the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [MSZMP]. Therefore, the Hungarian Socialist Party has no moral justification to call itself the successor of the MSZMP.

It logically follows from this that the MSZMP should hand over immediately all its assets to the KJSz. The provisional CC will close NEPSZABADSAG and relaunch a daily entitled HAMMER AND SICKLE in its place. Antoniewicz then said that he held a place in his party's CC for Janos Berecz, Karoly Grosz, Sandor Borbely, Kalman Kulcsar, Laszlo Major, and even for Robert Ribansz.

Borbely Denies Links With Society

LD1210213989 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1500 GMT 12 Oct 89

[Text] Sandor Borbely has denied that he has any links with the communist party formed from the Janos Kadar Society. The leader of the organization which has

declared itself communist had stated that in the temporary party central committee, they are counting on Sandor Borbely, who until last week was the national commander of the Workers' Guard.

Major Protests Link With Society

LD1210225689 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1730 GMT 12 Oct 89

[Excerpt] A long list was read out at the press briefing of the Janos Kadar Society. Roland Antoniewicz picked out, among others, Sandor Borbely, Janos Berecz, Karoly Grosz, Kalman Kulcsar, and Laszlo Major, for the still vacant secretarial post. One of those connected, Laszlo Major telephoned our editorial office to protest against his nomination:

[Begin recording] [Unidentified speaker] How surprised were you by this statement?

[Major] I was all the more surprised because in recent days, Janos Kadar's widow gave a statement about anyone who abuses her husband's individual rights, using her husband's name without her knowledge. I am pleased, on the one hand that I have got in among those—with Zoltan Gal, Kalman Kulcsar, I am very flattered—who apparently could be members of the Janos Kadar Society's leadership. On the one hand, here too fire and water have come together on this list of names. I feel it is an abuse of our names, and all of ours who appear in either group, and of our individual rights, and does not help to clarify the Hungarian internal political situation which is very murky anyway. [end recording] [passage omitted]

Official Denies Near Split Over HSP Leadership

LD1210172289 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1100 GMT 12 Oct 89

[Excerpts] According to a Hungarian Socialist Party [HSP] Presidium member, there was almost a split at congress between the Nyers and Pozsgay factions. The reform group's nominee for the post of the [party] chairman was Imre Pozsgay, but as a compromise they withdrew their proposal because it transpired that Rezso Nyers wanted to have Karoly Grosz and Janos Berecz elected to the new Presidium. By agreeing to the election of Rezso Nyers as party chairman, the reform group was able to prevent the conservative group's membership in the Presidium.

Now you will hear a denial of all this from Ferenc Kosa, member of the HSP Presidium. Laszlo Gardai reports:

[Begin recording] [Gardai] What is it in this news which is untrue?

[Kosa] [passage omitted]. In the first sentence of this news there was information to the effect that there had been some kind of conflict between the Pozsgay-led and Nyers-led factions. Such factions did not exist. There were platforms at the congress. One was the Reform Platform and those allied to it, while the other was the Popular Democratic Platform and those allied to it. I headed the former, while the other was led by Tamas Krausz, Bela Fabry, and others. Thus, neither Pozsgay nor Nyers headed any factions.

On the contrary, we, the delegates of the different platforms, jointly asked Rezso Nyers to be the newly forming HSP's chairman. [passage omitted] This news mixes everything up.

[Gardai] Was there any mention of Pozsgay's nomination?

[Kosa] We wanted to nominate him for president of the Republic. The two platforms also agreed with this. Naturally there was debate—not about the persons of Nyers and Pozsgay but about the future size of the HSP. We, the Reform Alliance, thought that the narrower it was, the stricter it would be in selecting its leadership and membership, and that it would have greater moral responsibility. Our friends and fellow delegates in the Popular Democratic Platform thought that the more widely based the party is, the more it would be able to ensure the continuity of government. [passage omitted]

[Gardai] In what context were the names of Karoly Grosz and Janos Berecz mentioned in this debate?

[Kosa] In this argument we did not even speak about this. It was not names, or being personal that was at issue here. Both sides were looking for credible people to enter into the leadership.

[Gardai] How then could this statement be so contradictory to what you now tell me?

[Kosa] I gave an almost 4-hour long interview to YOMIURI SHIMBUN yesterday. [passage omitted] The Tokyo correspondent of MTI reported things [from the statement] in his own words, and then this was reduced further. [passage omitted]

Looking at this piece of news—I am not a news editor—I consider it very regretful that this could be broadcast on Hungarian radio at all. I cannot identify myself with this news. It does not, in any aspect, match the atmosphere of the 4-hour long interview I have given. [end recording]

[Announcer] Regarding the regret, Hungarian Radio will continue to accept MTI's reports, but should these have untrue statements we shall provide room for correction.

HSP's Kosa, Fabry Hold Ad-Hoc News Briefing

LD1210230489 Budapest MTI in English 2200 GMT 12 Oct 89

[Text] Budapest, October 12 (MTI)—Ferenc Kosa and Bela Fabry, two members of the HSP [Hungarian Socialist Party] presidium, held an ad-hoc press briefing in the HSP headquarters on Thursday.

Mr Kosa wished to explain the misconstruing of the interview he had given to the Japanese daily "JOMIURI

SIMBUN". He said he had given a four-hour interview to a Japanese journalist, but the article in the paper differed sharply from what he said in all its facts and message, details and atmosphere. Through misinterpretation, the Japanese paper understood there were conflicts between party leaders, a fact which is completely erroneous. Mr Kosa immediately contacted the director of the publishing firm, Mr Iinuma, and asked for a correction.

Then, Bela Fabry, member of the HSP presidium and a head of the HSP delegations to the medium-level talks, said that the HSP—in line with its position passed at the congress—recognized the agreements reached by the trilateral talks, which reflected the wishes of the HSP. In order to overcome the social crisis and bring about political and economic advance, the trilateral talks should be resumed, and the HSP delegation wishes to express their readiness.

Bela Fabry considered that by not signing the agreement concluding the first phase of the talks on September 18, SZDSZ and FIDESZ nullified the fundamental agreement which stipulates that during talks sides should avoid steps which can thwart the objectives of the negotiations.

Bela Fabry condemns the campaign launched by SZDSZ to collect signatures for holding a referendum on four issues, such as the Workers' Militia, party property, party organizations in places of employment and the election of the president of the Republic. The first three questions can be regarded as settled. With regard to the presidential election, it is the most democratic institution that SZDSZ and FIDESZ have attacked in the name of democracy, namely, that the voting citizens should have a say in the election. The presidium are of the opinion that the SZDSZ has no genuine candidate for the presidency, otherwise they would undertake election through referendum, and are accordingly convinced that peaceful transition can only be achieved through introducing the institution of the president.

In his answers to questions, Mr Fabry said that Gyorgy Fejti, Pal Ivanyi and Janos Barabas, secretaries of the Central Committee of the former HSWP [Hungarian Socialist Workers Party], are working their term of notice. He mentioned that at the session of the presidium the day before, the name of Mr Barabas had come up when surveying international issues and discussing the appointment of ambassadors.

Hungarian Socialist Party Issues Appeal

AU1210124489 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 11 Oct 89 p 1

["Appeal of the Hungarian Socialist Party"]

[Text] Comrades!

As one of the determinant successors of the left-wing Hungarian progressive movement, the Hungarian Socialist Party, a party committed to a democratic socialism, was created on 7 October.

The party is making its program declaration and statute public and is calling on everyone to join the party, everyone who agrees with this party's principles and efforts and wants to contribute to our nation's development.

We count on the fact that the great majority of the members of the former Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [MSZMP] will accept and agree with the political program and democratic operational principles of the new party. The Hungarian Socialist Party regards as its natural source all those who participated in the activity of the MSZMP honestly and with sincere conviction.

We call upon all those comrades who accept our decisions with a clear conscience and who are ready to take an active part in implementing these decisions.

We are waiting for our compatriots who are committed to socialist values!

The Congress of the Hungarian Socialist Party.

Pozsgay Gives Interview to Japanese Daily

AU1210181789 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 11 Oct 89 p 3

[Correspondent's report: "The Importance of the Creation of the Hungarian Socialist Party Lies in Parting With the Communist Party—Imre Pozsgay's Interview with a Japanese Daily"]

[Text] In an interview with the Japanese daily ASAHI SHIMBUN, Imre Pozsgay said: The importance of the creation of the Hungarian Socialist Party [HSP] lies in its parting with the Communist Party. This most respectable Japanese daily published an interview with the HSP presidential candidate on its front page on 10 October.

Speaking about his ideas on Hungary's political system, Imre Pozsgay said that Finland is a model for us. He pointed out that Hungary will carry out an independent foreign policy as member of the Warsaw Pact. Imre Pozsgay said: After breaking with communism, the main task facing the new party is to win the people's confidence. "Perhaps many people will be confused at the complete reorganization of political actions and forms," Pozsgay said and expressed his conviction that the conservative faction stuck to Stalinism does not have the power to overcome the new party.

The article concludes that Imre Pozsgay, who is the most influential candidate for the post of president of the Republic, wants to follow the Finnish presidential example. Imre Pozsgay said about the Finnish Government, which is shaping the policy of this country neighboring the Soviet Union, that this is an example for the Hungarians, because, according to the Japanese reporter, Imre Pozsgay suggested that he was thinking of a future Hungarian neutrality.

The new party platform, which aims at a democratic socialism and market economy, originates from Imre Pozsgay's ideological conviction, the Japanese newspaper points out. The newspaper also quotes Imre Pozsgay's answer to a question about Mikhail Gorbachev's difficult situation: "There is nothing special in the fact that Gorbachev is facing a crisis. He is carrying out reforms that nobody has succeeded in implementing so far. However, the Soviet Union has no alternative."

In the interview, Imre Pozsgay also made it clear that he is convinced that Hungary would not change the road it has chosen for itself and that there is no way back, even if Gorbachev's leadership falls. Imre Pozsgay also pointed out that the Warsaw Pact and NATO should negotiate in order to simultaneously eliminate the military role of these two blocs.

In connection with Hungary's relations with Japan, Imre Pozsgay said that, despite the great geographical distance, these relations are historically and traditionally friendly. ASAHI SHIMBUN concludes: Hungary hopes that the Japanese industrial enterprises will recognize the importance and future role of Hungary's market and will strive for active presence on this market.

Milan, Rome Dailies Interview Nyers, Pozsgay

AU1110130089 Rome ANSA in English 1214 GMT 11 Oct 89

[Text] (ANSA) Rome, October 11—Two interviews with Hungarian Socialist Party leaders were published by IL GIORNALE of Milan and IL MESSAGGERO of Rome on Wednesday.

Party President Rezso Nyers, in an interview to IL GIORNALE, said his country is now open to different political forces, adding that if a communist party is formed, it will also be recognized and allowed to operate.

In comments on the possible effects of Hungarian reforms in East Germany, Nyers told IL GIORNALE that either reformist policies could be stimulated, or the ruling hierarchy could be seriously embarrassed by events. He said it is not possible to predict at this point which will happen.

East Berlin authorities, he added, right now are more concerned about instability, which is why they are limiting available information on events.

The same is happening in Romania, Nyers said.

IL MESSAGGERO published an interview with the leading candidate for the newly created executive presidency, Imre Pozsgay, who said Hungary does not intend to unilaterally claim its neutrality.

"Today, the respect of our alliances does not present obstacles," he said," neither in foreign nor in domestic policy."

This, he continued, has been shown by Hungary's opening of its borders to the West, the resumption of diplomatic relations with Israel and South Korea, and the freedom to expatriate given to refugees.

In comments on relations with the Italian left, the reformist leader said he sees similarities between his ideas and those of the Italian Communist Party.

"We think we have made a more clear cut decision," he added, "we talk openly of adhering to the European socialist movement."

Horn Interviewed on Announcement of New Party

AU1210121989 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 9 Oct 89 p 6

[Interview with Hungarian Foreign Minister Gyula Horn, by unidentified reporter: "Gyula Horn: Joy and Concern"—in the Congress Center in Budapest on 8 October]

[Text] After sleeping on it, we asked Gyula Horn the following question: What was your feeling at the announcement of the new party?

[Horn] Naturally, I had a very good feeling, but I still have reservations after thinking over this really great achievement and the document which we succeeded in accepting and making accepted. My doubts are whether we can convince the party members—and, even more important for me, the society—that we are indeed talking about a new party from moral, political, and credibility aspects alike.

[Question] How can this be done?

[Horn] We can do this with a program, statute, and, naturally, with personnel decisions which make it clear that persons without principles have no place among us.

[Question] Now, after dissociating yourselves, is there any possibility for cooperation with those who are now in the minority?

[Horn] Cooperation is possible by all means with those who want to do something for this country, but not with those who have become morally and politically compromised in recent years.

Berecz Gives Interview in Congress Break

AU1210125789 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 9 Oct 89 p 6

[Interview with Janos Berecz, by unidentified reporter: "Janos Berecz: I Am Not Offended"—in the Congress Center in Budapest on 8 October]

[Text] On 8 October, the general attention in the corridors turned again towards Janos Berecz.

[Question] Is it true that you will establish a "party of offended people?"

[Berecz] I am not offended, and thus I cannot establish such a party. Even if I were offended, I would not establish such a party.

[Question] Seriously speaking, are you seriously considering initiating the continuation of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [MSZMP]?

[Berecz] Yes. But I will not make any statement. I will support the MSZMP if others announce its establishment, but I no longer want any position in the party.

Democratic Movement's Bihari Views Congress

PM1210153489 Paris LIBERATION in French 7-8 Oct 89 pp 20-21

[Interview with Mihaly Bihari, member of the Movement for a Democratic Hungary, by Veronique Soule—date and place not given]

[Excerpt] [Introductory passage omitted]

LIBERATION: What does the communist party now represent in Hungary?

Mihaly Bihari: The Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party [MSZMP] is a kind of state bureaucracy which is collapsing. The leadership has no relationship with its members and the latter cannot exercise any influence over their leadership. Moreover, the party's internal life has become so inconsistent that it cannot function. It contains totally antagonistic platforms and people.

There is now no party in Hungary in the sociological sense of the word. The opposition forces are not yet real parties; some will be turned into parties, others will probably disappear. Most do not have any well organized internal life and some do not even have any program.

LIBERATION: Is it still possible to talk of a communist party?

Mihaly Bihari: The MSZMP is no longer a party; nor is it a communist party. Of course, it still contains Communists, but there are different kinds of Communists—orthodox Communists, conservative Communists, neo-Stalinists, reforming Communists, and so forth. Some people have faith: They are found within the Left Alliance. Others are neo-Stalinists: They are in the Munnich Ferenc Society or the Marxist Unity Platform. Reformers are found within reformers' circles, but they too are very varied. There is even a small Trotskyist group.... In addition to these four or five kinds of Communists, there are democratic socialists, social democrats, and opportunists, also within the MSZMP. Finally, there are between 200,000 and 300,000 people at least who are undecided and do not know which current to join.

LIBERATION: Is it still possible to talk of the party's leadership role?

Mihaly Bihari: No. Who is in power? It is impossible to answer this question. However, there is a bureaucracy, a leadership class which is capable of functioning. But even they are divided. These 10,000 people certainly do not all follow the party's directives.

LIBERATION: What remains of Marxist-Leninist dogma?

Mihaly Bihari: There are two answers. At the level of theoretical doctrine, nothing remains; everything has been called into question; it is thought that Marxism-Leninism has had no positive results. Moreover, over the past 40 years, it has scarcely had any influence on the way in which people think. It is only in the minds of apparatchiks that it has had a lasting effect. All these ideas are dying out in Hungarian society, and this ideology has collapsed at an incredible rate.

The other answer is that Marxist-Leninist ideology still has a great impact. The whole system of social institutions was created on the basis of Marxism-Leninism—planning, prices, and so forth. Here, we can say that the party's leadership role survives in the institutions: The party's structure still obeys dogma, our education system is full of dogma. In addition, 90 percent of the means of production belong to the state, 90 percent of land belongs to cooperatives or state farms. Such facts determine our life and have their origins in Marxism-Leninism. Ideology remains present in the institutions and in social relations. And to this extent, our society is still ideocratic, in other words it functions under the influence of an ideology.

LIBERATION: Is it possible to see where Hungary is going amid the present confusion?

Mihaly Bihari: With regard to the general trend, I am fairly optimistic. Hungary is moving toward pluralist democracy. There are three reasons for this optimism. First, the international situation has never been so favorable to the Hungarian reforms. Second, the main MSZMP leaders want democratization. During the "roundtable," the party leadership showed self-restraint. It is very important for the dictatorial party to contribute to the dismantling of the dictatorship. In fact, it is impossible to sweep away the dictatorship and then rebuild. The dictator must back down. The third important element is the moderation of the opposition and its sense of responsibility. Nobody now believes that foreign countries can help Hungary. In 1956, the insurgents asked for help from the Americans and the United Nations. We also know that the Soviet troops will not come, as they did in 1956.

LIBERATION: Do you see any possibility of a return to the past?

Mihaly Bihari: This possibility is diminishing day by day. But a great deal depends on the party congress. It is impossible to predict what will happen there. Nobody know what the 1,200 delegates, the majority of whom probably do not have clear ideas, want. I see three possible scenarios:

1—A split in the party which the conservatives—between 10,000 and 20,000 people—would leave to form a real communist party, which would be small but very militant, without much influence in political life. The rest of the party would then form a huge conglomerate ranging from Berecz and Grosz (both of whom belong to the conservative "center"—LIBERATION editor's note) to Pozsgay (a reformer—LIBERATION editor's note).

That would be the worst solution: All the internal conflicts would remain, the party would be incapable of functioning and the discredited leadership would remain in place. There would be a total defeat in the forthcoming free elections. However, the party, which had succeeded in saving its unity, would believe in a victory. But there would be a defeat: It would continue to deteriorate in addition to losing prestige and credibility. In this case, it is also possible to imagine that between 20,000 and 30,000 reforming intellectuals would leave the party and form another one.

2—Three separate parties would be formed. The first would group the real Communists, the second would be the renewed MSZMP with Berecz, Grosz, and possibly Nyers (the present party chairman and a reformer—LIBERATION editor's note), and all the faceless apparatchiks. This would be a fairly strong reforming party with some social democratic characteristics. The third party would be socialist in the European sense of the term, with Pozsgay and all the other leading reformers.

I think that this would be the best solution: three parties with well-defined profiles which, in fact, already exist. The renewed MSZMP and the socialist party could both do well in the coming elections, obtaining up to 30 percent of the votes, the rest going essentially first to the Democratic Forum and then probably to the social democratic party, the Independent Smallholders' Party, and the Alliance of Free Democrats. We would see a pluralist system emerging in Hungary with several poles. At the same time, several coalition possibilities (in the government after free elections—LIBERATION editor's note) would emerge. This would be very important because, for the time being, it is difficult to see what kind of coalition is possible.

3—The party would break up into several factions, all weak. The present leadership would then be buried and replaced by successors without any precise image or well-defined goals. This hypothesis would increase the risks of the transition. The MSZMP would collpse completely and the new parties would be powerless.

The second hypothesis strikes me as by far the most viable, otherwise there is a likelihood of the two bloc system remaining: The MSZMP on the one hand and all those against the MSZMP on the other. In this second hypothesis, the emerging political system would have two major coalition poles and that might in the long term lead to an American-style bipartite system.

Editorial on Actions of Recent Congress

AU1310100589 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 11 Oct 89 p 3

[Editorial by Gabor Fodor: "A Political Long Jump"]

[Text] Ideas are not for thinking, but for experiencing. This serious statement originates from Malraux. As for how serious it is, we can see it now at the particular time in which—whether we like it or not—we have been living. All those people who linked their fate with our movement not only for reasons of personal success but out of some kind of conviction will now not be able to avoid the heavy burden of decision.

The Hungarian Socialist Party [HSP] is not the party which these people joined. To change a party is particularly difficult for those who have for a long time submitted to the dictates of a doctrine little secularized but imbued with much orthodoxy. At the founding congress, one of the leaders of the Hungarian Socialist Party said that Luther would not have gone too far if he had excluded the Catholics from the Reformation. This is a good argument, but is it also enough? Marx said the following: "It is true that Luther liberated the body from the chains by putting the heart in chains." Has our reform movement already put every worthy heart in chains? Or has only a narrow elite forced tens of thousands of people into making such painful decisions overnight? Even if the latter took place only partially, could one carry out such a thing with a clear conscience? Is there not some kind of treason here, the desertion of former comrades in the struggle?

These questions must not be rejected as being cheap moralizing which can be of no use in politics. These questions have a moral content which must not be disregarded in politics. However, on the other side, Malraux was right. Ideas are indeed not for thinking. If we continue to delay taking necessary action, then not only thousands and tens of thousands of party members will regard these events as carelessness toward them, but so will an entire country.

Now, let us say it openly, there are people who blame our congress for being engaged in purging. However, what did this congress want to eliminate and why?

First of all, the congress wanted to eliminate the organizational structure and bigoted way of thinking which made it possible not only to carry off and slander innocent people here—including our best comrades—but also to actually physically liquidate them. Therefore, has the very congress which broke with all this radically finally committed a crime?

If this congress really eliminated something, than it is mainly that remnant illusion that we have a strong party only because it has more than 700,000 members. But let these accusers tell us what we should have done with this remnant illusion in which increasingly fewer people believed even within the party? Should we have legitimized something which cannot be legitimized? Should

we have deceived ourselves, when others no longer let themselves be deceived? Would this have been honest and fair?

A party cannot be liquidated because it is unable to fulfill the requirements practically. In that case, that party is empty and is in a state of vegetation, and at most, its bureaucracy can be eliminated. Would that be such a pity? Would that be worth feeling so sorry for? Is it not possible that, apart from certain fears of making a living, nostalgia is emerging now from the sources of bitterness?

Many people have come to such conclusions in their thoughts, but, for numerous reasons, they did not have enough power to make up their mind to act. This congress has done that. It is both frightening and great that it has done that. For those unable to act, action is always both paralyzingly frightening and thrillingly fascinating at the same time. It is all the more so in places where, like in Hungary, authoritarian structures that firmly oppose changes have presented immobility as natural, and movement as unnatural.

One of Marx's famous parables mentions a physical education teacher who wanted to master the art of long-jumping. For that, he dug a deep hole in the ground and then extended a piece of thread in front of the hole; the idea was that, if his student can jump up to the thread, he will then move the thread further and further, until his student jumps over the hole. However, the experiment failed—Marx concluded—because the student fell into the hole on his first attempt, and could not get out of it. The teacher was called Prussia, and the subject of instruction was democracy.

We would like to add to this parable only that, instead of broadening democracy thread by thread, or gradually, this congress used a different method, because one can only jump far with a strong preparatory run-up.

Otto Habsburg Refuses Presidential Nomination

LD1210212189 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1730 GMT 12 Oct 89

[Text] Otto Habsburg, 77-years old, who the Budapest Smallholders wish to nominate for the post of president of the Republic, will not accept the nomination this year. Gyoergy Bernat reports.

[Bernat] Otto Habsburg will not have himself nominated at this year's elections for the president of the Republic in Hungary. The statement regarding this was given to MTI's Bonn office and through them to other reporters, by his press office. The eldest son of the last Hungarian king was proposed as a presidential candidate by the Smallholders' Party. Otto Habsburg sincerely thanks them for this, and assures those who asked him, of his solidarity. At the same time, the elderly politician will not accept the assignment. He writes that in his opinion, this year's election is problematic, because of—as he puts it—the 40 years of totalitarian repression, and inadequate preparations.

Otto Habsburg would consider it better if the legitimate parliament were to be elected first, then the constitution which people must accept based on freedom and constitutional statehood would come into effect, and only at the end would they decide on the person of the president, under circumstances of complete freedom.

The other reason for not accepting the nomination given by Otto Habsburg is that he can do much in the European Parliament for Hungary to return to the community of free peoples, and from this point of view it would be disadvantageous if he now gave up his present activity.

Kulcsar To Accept Presidential Nomination

LD1310084889 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 2100 GMT 12 Oct 89

[Excerpts] As far as we know, the rumors and gossip became a concrete fact today, that is, that Minister of Justice Kalman Kulcsar is also to undertake the nomination for the post of president of the Republic. This was announced by Istvan Kukorelli, executive chairman of the Patriotic People's Front. Our colleague, Gyorgy Ney, has had an exclusive interview with the minister.

[Begin recording] [Ney] You are addressed by most of your colleagues and the journalists as Mr Professor. Why do you undertake, after a scientific and ministerial past, the possible fulfilling of the highest state and legal function?

[Kulcsar] Well, the emphasis is on the word possible. [passage omitted]

[Ney] I have made inquiries as to whether you are a party member, that is, whether you were a member of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [MSZMP] and whether you are going to be a member of the Hungarian Socialist Party. Very many people said that they do not know whether you were a member of the communist party, but somebody told me yesterday that you had been a member of the MSZMP since 1971. Are you going to go over to the new party?

[Kulcsar] This is true, I really was a member. The date is not 1971, but 1970, but the situation has changed now, and I think that if I would like to carry on the politics, which I have...

[Ney] Which you have tried to establish theoretically?

[Kulcsar] That is right.

[Ney] Thus, the separation of the power branches.

[Kulcsar] Yes, the separation and many other things which also are involved in this. This was never a politics of party interest, thus I am not sure that now, in a changed situation, this politics can be carried on only within the party. [end recording]

Party Campaigns To Postpone Elections

LD0810010189 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 2100 GMT 7 Oct 89

[Summary] the Alliance of Free Democrats has begun collecting signatures nationally, i.a. to postpone the election of the president of the Republic. The group also demands the party organizations withdraw from the workplaces and the MSZMP [Hungarian Socialist Workers Party] give an account of the assets, either in its ownership or under its handling. The election of the president of the republic should only happen after free National Assembly elections; the Workers' Guard should be dissolved.

Approximately 3,000 people today indicated with their signatures today that they agree with the demands formulated by the Free Democrats. The national result so far of the campaign, which commenced a few days ago is 20,000 signatures.

National Assembly To Consider Party Law

LD0910165489 Budapest MTI in English 1610 GMT 9 Oct 89

[Text] Budapest, October 9, 1989 (MTI-Econews)—This week, Hungarian parliamentary committees are to discuss the party law, one of the cornerstones of the multi-party democracy, before it is put to the vote at the October or November session.

The law, which will provide for the operation and economic activities of parties, is aimed at enabling the various social organizations which intend to enter the elections to register as a party. The forthcoming general elections in Hungary are scheduled to take place in spring next year.

Fierce disputes are still raging about one of the most important fields of party activity, the scene of party operations. Therefore, the bill contains two versions about depoliticizing places of work. According to the proposal presented by the opposition parties, no party organization should be allowed to operate at any place of employment. The HSWP [Hungarian Socialist Workers Party]—which became the HSP [Hungarian Socialist Party] on Saturday—differentiates between places of work representing the executive power of the state and other places of work. It will be up to MPs [Members of Parliament] to choose between the two proposals.

The bill enumerates the financial sources which might provide a basis for party property. These are: budget support, membership fees, donations, the estates of deceased private individuals, politico-economic activities carried out in a tightly restricted circle within economic associations of the party concerned, or within one-man limited companies, (for example, publishing activities), and, occasionally, the selling of real estate. State budget organizations and state companies will not be entitled to make contributions, and parties will not be entitled to receive such contributions, moreover, it will be prohibited for parties to receive financial contributions from foreign states and unknown sources. Should the latter happen, whatever amount they get from such contributions will have to be remitted to the budget, and furthermore, in retaliation, the budget support granted to the party concerned will be reduced by the same amount.

The entire amount of budget support to be allocated to the parties will have to be determined by a law adopted by parliament every year. Under the bill, 25 per cent of this amount will have to be shared equally between parties represented in parliament, 75 per cent will have to be distributed according to the election results. Until the parliamentary elections, parliament will have to make a separate decision on the amount of budget support to parties.

The bill provides that, if a party ceases to exist owing either to merger or separation, that party's property will be handed over to its legal successor(s). However, a party's property may not be distributed among the members even if the party is terminated without a legal successor. In such cases, the party property would fall to a sort of community chest, a public fund to be set up by parliament.

The parliament-controlled state audit office will be entitled to supervise party financial operations, to ensure the moral purity of political life, it would have to do this at least once a year. As to the publicity of the financial activities of the parties, which would make community control possible, the bill provides that parties will be obliged to publish the financial report on their activities for the previous year by March 31 every year.

PPF Chairman Outlines Election Strategy

LD1210121989 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 0900 GMT 12 Oct 89

[Text] The Patriotic People's Front [PPF] does not intend to form itself into a party at this stage, but wants to place its nominees on every individual constituency, county and national election list. This was stated by the executive chairman of the movement in advance of the congress planned for the weekend. Istvan Kukorelli believes that the PPF must counterbalance the decidedly party-political way of thinking in this transitional period. He views as conceivable that in the case of the dissolution of the Workers' Guard and the banning of the party organizations in workplaces, the PPF would form an alliance with the Alliance of Free Democrats. He also sees the possibility of forming a coalition with the Federation of Young Democrats and the Hungarian Democratic Front.

Kukorelli Views Front Role

LD1210122189 Budapest MTI in English 1053 GMT 12 Oct 89

[Text] Budapest, October 12 (MTI)—"I think that next weekend, most delegates taking part in the Patriotic

People's Front (PPF) congress will come down on the side of the People's Front remaining a movement. We'll have to take part as an independent political force at the elections, though, but we'll be emphasizing that power isn't what we're primarily fighting for. At the moment, participation in the elections offers the only chance for the political organizations to manifest themselves", Istvan Kukorelli, PPF executive president, told MTI.

"We'd like to see the congress decide that the People's Front will nominate candidates in each constituency and on the county and national lists alike, and put forward an independent candidate for the post of the president of the republic. But all this won't make us a party. This is a special political situation. At the later elections, we will most probably make another approach to these issues

"I'm confident that one of the basic tasks for the People's Front is counter balancing the expressly party-oriented way of thinking in the period of peaceful transition. We advocate that public power should be created by public will, controlled by society, and limited by law. We see the People's Front movement as a go-between between society and public power.

"The People's Front is an independent, sovereign movement with a measurable mass basis. An increasing section of society has realized that the notion of the People's Front will be required in Hungary even in the years and decades to come. People are wary of parties, because they've got bitter historical experience of party struggles. So what we need is a free, non-party political movement which is capable, in given circumstances, of representing political interests as well.

"The People's Front does not wish to cooperate with extreme forces, whether these be on the left or right. As to political movements like the People's Front, we very much hope the congress will conclude an alliance with the New March Front, the Movement for a Democratic Hungary, and the Young People's Front", Mr Kukorelli said.

MDF Workers' Interest Forum Held in Komlo

LD0710150689 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1100 GMT 7 Oct 89

[Text] For the second time, the Hungarian Democratic Forum [MDF] is holding a workers' interest-protection consultation. The location is Komlo. Naturally, the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party [MSZMP] Congress was mentioned at the meeting, as well. Csaba Belenesi reports:

[Belenesi] Workers' self-organizing activity and workers' councils are the two main topics on today's agenda in Komlo. The organizers of the MDF's second workers forum in Komlo drew up an appeal yesterday evening in which workers are encouraged to form their so-called genuine interest-protection organizations, the workers' councils, because according to the appeal, only thus can they free themselves from the rule of the trade union apparatus. The MDF is of the view that in this manner workers can separate themselves from managers; they can be partners of equal rank to the enterprise management. The existence of the workers' councils also can help clarify the property issue. According to the appeal, the MDF still does not wish to organize itself at workplaces, but its moral obligation is to support, with experts and political means, the coming about of social self-organizing activity, and thus, the workers' councils.

While I am reporting, writer Denes Csengey is speaking to the 250 participants in the forum. The MDF presidium member, in his introduction, referred to the MSZMP Congress that is going on now, saying that this is the first party event of this nature which can decide, not the fate of all Magyardom, but the fate of only the MSZMP or its possible successor parties.

According to Denes Csengey, this situation is one of the greatest results of the Hungarian opposition, which has been functioning for 1 year.

FRG SPD Chairman Vogel's Visit Reported

Arrives in Warsaw

LD1010123289 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1105 GMT 10 Oct 89

[Text] Hans Jochen Vogel, the chairman of the West German SPD [Social Democratic Party] and head of the social democrat parliamentary faction in the Bundestag, has arrived in Poland on a 3-day visit. He will meet President Jaruzelski, Premier Mazowiecki, and with Walesa, the chairman of Solidarity, in Gdansk. Talks with Catholic Church representatives as well as with political parties represented in the Polish parliament are also planned.

Meets Politicians

LD1010225189 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1500 GMT 10 Oct 89

[Text] Hans Jochen Vogel is on a short unofficial visit to Poland, he is the chairman of the [Social Democratic Party] and also chairman of this party's faction in the FRG Bundestag. He is accompanied by a group of Social Democrat Bundestag deputies. Hans Jochen Vogel spoke with Polish politicians and met with the Sejm Speaker Mikolaj Kozakiewicz as well as with the members of the Sejm National and Ethnic Minorities Commission.

Discusses Visit Plans

LD1010214989 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 10 Oct 89

[Interview with hans Jochen Vogel, Social Democratic party of Germany chairman, by Krystyna Koziol at the beginning of Vogel's visit to Poland; place, date not specified; Vogel speaks in German with superimposed Polish translation—recorded]

[Text] [Koziol] Mr Chairman, you have come on an unofficial visit, but you will be having a series of meetings with the most important personalities of our country. What do you expect from them?

[Vogel] I expect from these talks extensive information as to the degree of advancement in Polish reforms. I would like to orient myself as to how far we can help the process of reforms in Poland. I say this as the head of the strongest opposition party in Bundestag, as the Chairman of the Social Democratic Party of Germany. I would like to add that there is a close tie between our eastern policy, the Helsinki process, and the reforms in Poland and other countries of the Warsaw Pact.

[Koziol] How do you evaluate the possibilities for our cooperation in the current situation?

[Vogel] I evaluate them positively. I judge that outside my party too there is a great readiness in the FRG to come forward with aid for Poland within the framework of existing possibilities. I judge that talks between the plenipotentiaries of the heads of governments of our states, which have gone on for a long time, are close to a final conclusion. We are putting pressure on this matter, as Poland urgently needs help and cooperation precisely at this time.

Talks With Walesa in Gdansk

LD1010220589 Hamburg DPA in German 2134 GMT 10 Oct 89

[Text] Gdansk (DPA)—Social Democratic Party of Germany [SPD] Chairman Hans-Jochen Vogel met with Solidarity Chairman Lech Walesa in Gdansk this evening. The talk concentrated on economic problems. In a joint communique the two sides stressed the importance of the West's economic involvement for the changes taking place in Poland and other central European countries to be successful. The establishment of joint ventures and the founding of Western banks in Poland are especially important.

Walesa received Vogel in the rooms of St Bridget's church. It was the first time that the SPD chairman had met with the Solidarity chief. On previous visits he had avoided direct contacts with Walesa in order not to annoy his communist hosts. Vogel assured Walesa that his visit to the Federal Republic made a strong impression and produced a good response. Walesa noted that the new Polish government has helped to solve the problem of the GDR refugees.

Earlier Vogel held talks in Warsaw with Sejm Speaker Mikolaj Kozakiewicz and the chairman of the communist and Solidarity parliamentary groups, Marian Orzechowski and Bronislaw Geremek. Geremek said after the more than 2-hour talks that he thanked Vogel and his party for their clear stance on the Polish border on the Oder and Neisse. All political debates on the future of Europe must be based on the permanence of the borders.

Vogel is to meet with Premier Taduesz Mazowiecki and Foreign Minister Krzysztof Skubiszewski tomorrow.

Holds Talks 10 Oct

LD1110105189 Warsaw PAP in English 0355 GMT 11 Oct 89

[Text] Warsaw, Oct. 10—I think that not only the SPD but also broad circles outside it are ready to help Poland as much as possible. We know that Poland needs support and cooperation right now, said chairman of the Social Democrtic Party of Germany (SPD) and chairman of the SPD Bundestag faction Hans-Jochen Vogel upon his arrival in Warsaw. Vogel is accompanied by a group of SPD Bundestag deputies.

Talks at the Sejm

Vogel and accompanying persons held talks at the Sejm (lower house of parliament) today for over 5 hours.

During the first meeting, Sejm Speaker Mikolaj Kozakiewicz briefed his guests on the work of the Sejm against the background of the current political situation in the

country, emphasizing that the Sejm is becoming a centre that shapes the transformations.

The debaters discussed the possibilities of economic assistance for Polish reform. Vogel confirmed SPD's readiness to take up actions aiming at helping Poland. This help, according to Kozakiewicz, could consist of two stages: Firstly, fast and short- term ventures that could improve Poland's food market, and secondly—capital assistance for Poland's economy.

Another subject was the cooperation of the parliaments of both states and the exchange of experiences in various areas of parliamentary work. Afterwards, Vogel met with chairman of the PUWP [Polish United Workers Party/ PZPR] Marian Orzechowski who told PAP after the meeting that this was a meeting of old friends, as the SPD factions and the PUWP caucus have been cooperating for a considerable time. This was pioneering cooperation between workers' and communist parties of socialist Europe and social democratic parties, added he.

We talked about issues concerning Poland, our situation and the things that can be done by the SPD to support Polish transformations, Orzechowski continued. The SPD is aware of the all-European dimension of these transformations, and is aware that they are also Europe's business. The SPD chairman briefed us on the actions by German Social Democrats aiming at granting not only political but material and financial support for our transformations. The support for this process is also the support for detente in Europe, the creation of the common European home, concluded he.

Vogel met also with chairman of the OKP [Citizen's Parliamentary Floor Group] Caucus Bronislaw Geremek. Commenting upon the talks, Geremek remarked that it was his second meeting with Vogel. I took this opportunity to thank Vogel and his party for a clear stance on Poland's border on the Odra and Nysa rivers. We stressed that any political debate on Europe's future must take into account the starting point which is the permanence of the borders and must simultaneously try to make these borders as permeable as possible within the arising European community, Geremek commented.

This was also a chance for us to exchange ideas on Polish-German economic relations and on the forms on the possible FRG assistance for Poland. We discussed also the prospects for cooperation between the citizens' caucus and the SPD faction. I assess these talks as very successful, both because of their sincerity and the programmes we drafted, said he.

SPD delegation met also with members of the Sejm Committee for National and Ethnic Minorities who briefed Vogel on the work on the draft law on national, ethnic and religious minorities. The law is to contain a confirmation of international legal obligations, of the right of national minorities to associate and to teach their national languages, especially in the regions where a given minority is a local majority.

Vogel assessed the forming of this committee as another proof of democratic transformations in Poland.

Talks in Gdansk

Vogel came to Gdansk late in the afternoon to meet with Solidarity leader Lech Walesa. Experts of both sides and parish priest of the St Brygida Church Father Henryk Jankowski were present at the meeting at the church parsonage.

During the meeting that focused on economic cooperation, Vogel emphasized that the talks by Polish and FRG Governments are nearing an end and are supported by the SPD. The agreements with the FRG may provide substantial support for Poland. He also announced that FRG-Polish joint ventures and banks with the FRG share will be soon founded in Poland. Walesa expressed hope for favourable development of the economic cooperation stressing its significance in building a united Europe.

The joint communique on the meeting says that the talks centered on Polish-German relations in the current economic situation in Poland, and on the need to boost cooperation in many areas of economy. The transformations in Poland and other central-East European countries are a chance for uniting Europe, and taking advantage of this chance depends to a great extent on the joint effort and growing economic involvement of Western countries in Poland. Stressed was the importance of joint ventures and of establishing agencies of Western banks in Poland.

Continues Discussions

LD1110143789 Hamburg DPA in German 1016 GMT 11 Oct 89

[Text] Warsaw/Gdansk (DPA)—Social Democratic Party of Germany [SPD] leader Hans-Jochen Vogel continued his talks in Warsaw this morning, holding discussions with Foreign Minister Krzystof Skubiszewski and with Secretary of the Catholic Bishop Conference Bronislaw Dabrowski. He subsequently met with Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki, who has been in office for 4 weeks. During the talks there was discussion of the situation of the GDR refugees in Warsaw. The SPD chairman hopes to meet some of them this afternoon.

Yesterday Vogel and the SPD politicians accompanying him had comprehensive talks with workers' leader Lech Walesa in the church rooms of St Bridget's church in Gdansk. Possibilities for greater support of the reform processes in Eastern Europe were given prominence in the talks. The Poles are relying above all on German aid, Walesa said. In view of the delicate situation in the country, swift steps are necessary to ensure that "communism does not once again rear its head."

In the talk, Walesa described the division of Germany as "illogical". It could be overcome through the unification of Europe. This process is imminent. If the reform forces

in Poland win, then a solution to the German and the European question will also be "close". The workers leader expressed concern at recent developments in the GDR. They are following too swiftly "in our wake". It would be better for the whole reform process in Eastern Europe if the developments in Poland could first be stabilized. During the meeting, vogel described Walesa as a figure "who set in motion a movement which today has a European dimension."

Leading members of the "Solidarity" committee of deputies in the Warsaw parliament, including party group leader Bronislaw Geremek, indicated to vogel the considerable importance for internal politics in Poland of the border debate in the Federal Republic. It was feared that conservative forces in the country may capitalize on this.

Meets With Socialist Party Chief

LD1210041189 Warsaw PAP in English
2241 GMT 11 Oct 89

[Text] Warsaw, Oct. 11—SPD [Social Democratic Party of Germany] Chairman and Head of the Bundestag SPD floor group Hans Jochen Vogel met General Secretary of the main board of the Polish Socialist Party (PPS) Andrzej Malanowski tonight.

The sides discussed prospects for the development of the social-democratic political orientation in Poland and examined principles of cooperation between the SPD and the PPS.

Holds Meeting With Rakowski

LD1210090689 Warsaw PAP in English
0836 GMT 12 Oct 89

[Text] Warsaw, Oct. 12—PUWP [Polish United Workers Party] CC [Central Committee] First Secretary Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski met today with Hans-Jochen Vogel, SPD [Social Democratic Party of Germany] chairman and leader of the SPD floor group in the West German Bundestag, who ends his unofficial visit to Warsaw today.

Received by Jaruzelski

LD1210102389 Warsaw PAP in English
0946 GMT 12 Oct 89

[Text] Warsaw, Oct. 12—Poland's President Wojciech Jaruzelski received at the Belvedere Palace today Hans-Jochen Vogel, SPD [Social Democratic Party of Germany] chairman and leader of the SPD floor group in the West German Bundestag.

Holds Press Conference, Departs

LD1210213289 Warsaw PAP in English
1635 GMT 12 Oct 89

[Text] Warsaw, Oct. 12—"This was my 9th or 10th visit to Poland in the past 20 years. I cannot remember the previous ones taking place in a more dynamic and so meaningful time for Poland and Europe," chairman of the Social Democratic Party of Germany [SPD] and head of the SPD floor group in the West German Bundestag Hans-Jochen Vogel said at the close of his Polish visit on Thursday.

On the lat day of his visit Vogel met with PUWP [Polish United Workers Party] CC [Central Committee] First Secretary Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski. "This meeting was devoted to the political and economic situation which is taking shape in Poland," Rakowski told PAP.

"Hans-Jochen Vogel is not walking on an unknown territory, for his links with Poland, in terms of political interest, have lasted for many years. The past few years saw good SPD-PUWP cooperation, so we also talked about prospects for this cooperation. The SPD chairman was interested in all matters connected with the situation within the PUWP, our goals for the near future as regards transformations in the party, preparations for its congress," Rakowski said.

Addressing newsmen at a press conference on Thursday, Vogel pointed to the significance of the process of Polish reforms. "We, social democrats, realize that Poland needs external assistance as never before," he said.

Hans-Jochen Vogel addressed himself to the expected visit to Poland by FRG Chancellor Helmut Kohl: "We for our part will suggest that the chancellor, while in Poland, should be as unequivocal on the border issue as the SPD is and as was Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher when addressing the United Nations. We will also propose a project to set up a foundation to finance compensations for Polish forced labourers in the Third Reich."

Vogel said he had thanked the Polish Government and political forces for the humanitarian approach to the question of GDR refugees.

In reply to a question concerning his talks with Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski, Vogel said that many of Rakowski's statements were convergent with social democratic concepts.

Asked about the problem of people calling themselves a German minority, Vogel said that he had met its representatives who—as he put it—want to be loyal citizens of the Polish People's Republic, want to stay in Poland. He found it essential for these people to be able to form associations, learn the language, develop cultural activity.

Special Envoy Pszon on Talks With FRG

AU0910150289 Hamburg DIE WELT
in German 6 Oct 89 p 7

[Interview with Polish Special Envoy Mieczyslaw Pszon by Manfred Schell: "It Is Conceivable That a Silesian Becomes a Member of the Polish Parliament"—date and place not given]

[Text] DIE WELT: According to sources in Bonn, Federal Chancellor Kohl will pay his official visit to Warsaw on 10 November 1989. Has this date been definitely fixed?

Pszon: This date—10 November—was suggested by the German side. Warsaw must still agree. But the federal chancellor's visit will take place this fall. At any rate, the conditions for a visit and talks of the chancellor in Poland are favorable. The relations between the two countries will be placed on a new basis of confidence. In this respect, we attach equal importance to economic and political matters. The climate between Bonn and Warsaw has considerably improved since the change of government in Poland.

DIE WELT: What results can be expected of this trip?

Pszon: We expect that it will signal a new beginning in our relations. This visit is supposed to initiate a new era. We hope for more economic aid from the FRG. We also hope that this aid, which the German side is ready to give, will be coming soon. In view of its economic situation, Poland does not have much time. The new Solidarity government needs help to be successful soon. Our German partners must see that time delays may have bad consequences.

DIE WELT: Poland has reportedly stated a credit line for Hermes [credit insurance company] guarantees of DM3 billion in 2 years.

Pszon: You are well informed. However, I do not comment on figures. It is correct that we discussed a ceiling.

DIE WELT: Are you also expecting international understanding and help?

Pszon: We need a moratorium, a respite, in respect of our credit obligations. We hope that the Paris Club and the International Monetary Fund will be accommodating. We also hope that the German businessmen who will accompany the federal chancellor on his trip will see that there are investment opportunities in Poland. This could lead to further agreements. There is also the idea that German banks could open branch offices in Poland. It would also be important that the German finance sector get involved in the Polish economy.

DIE WELT: How about an investment protection agreement?

Pszon: Such an agreement has been negotiated and is ready to be signed. It will promote and protect investments. At the same time, it will ensure that investments will be subject to the law on the protection of property.

DIE WELT: Does Poland need a currency reform?

Pszon: Our people have their own experience with economic reforms. A currency reform that you are suggesting would mean that we would take away from the people everything they have. However, it is correct that we must combat inflation. It is also correct that we are seeking to implement a reform aimed at making our currency convertible.

DIE WELT: How can the supply situation be improved quickly?

Pszon: Agriculture must be promoted, because investments in this sector show quick success and help improve the supply decisively. I think that our agriculture has considerable reserves so that it can ensure the full food supply of our people within 2 years.

DIE WELT: You said that Poland will become a country where investments will be worthwhile again. Does that mean that Poland will abandon the planned economy and restructure it to become a market economy?

Pszon: Yes, without any compromise. We intend to give up the planned economy, and we intend to fully introduce the market economy. That is a unique project. If we are successful, this would also be of considerable importance for other countries in similar situations. The political effects for Europe, specifically for Germany, would be extraordinary.

DIE WELT: You said that the chancellor's visit would represent a "signal." However, this can surely not only be in the economic area.

Pszon: Both sides must overcome existing prejudices. That holds not only true for the people but also for political bodies. It is very important for us that Poland's political stability is being recognized. This stability cannot be doubted. Nor can the permanent nature of the existing borders be doubted. It is certainly fatal that a border discussion is started here every few years, even though nobody believes in a change of these borders. Therefore, such debates are useless. They only create a bad climate and provide excuses for those who do not have friendly intentions about our bilateral relations. The Germans must understand our sensitivity in this respect. Generally speaking, a basis of confidence must be created. That includes not only the observance of what has been laid down in writing; it also includes the observance of what has been discussed with sincerity.

DIE WELT: The frequent talk in Poland about "revanchism" in Germany has also contributed to creating annoyance in our country. Is that finished now?

Pszon: That surely has clearly changed recently. The Solidarity press has published articles on German-Polish relations, which are knowledgeable, objective, and unemotional. They also discuss subjects that have previously been taboo. For instance, there have been reports on the German minority in Poland. Barriers are falling in this respect. However, I must also ask you to have patience. One cannot transform a communist state into a democratic state within a few days. However, there are enough examples that prejudices are being removed in our country too.

DIE WELT: What are people in Poland thinking about the Germans today?

Pszon: Like in your country, the generational problem is playing a role here. Memories of the war are of special importance for older people. I think that the middle-aged and younger generations who have their own experience from contacts with Germany hold entirely different views in this respect. They see their country as it is today. Hundreds of thousands of Poles come to Germany every year—legally or illegally—to work here for several months. They tell people in Poland about it. That is also important. Our agreements in Bonn include also a German-Polish youth program. Under this program, some 10,000 people will meet in the first year. That is great, is it not?

DIE WELT: How much consideration will in the future be given to the German minority in Poland?

Pszon: That is a complicated problem, because it mainly concerns a group of people in Oppeln [Opole], Upper Silesia. This group was not treated well by the Polish Government. Its members are very strongly aware of their origin, and they have always spoken two languages. They ascertain loyalty either to Germany or to Poland; however, they have always formed an integrated whole. That was not taken into account. Therefore, there were tensions. The Polish state rejected the recognition of the German minority for legal reasons. Following the change of government in Warsaw, the situation is different now. The new law permits the founding of various associations, including associations cultivating the German language and culture. We do not know whether such an activation of the German culture and language will lead to tensions with other sectors of the people. There are indications that it will, but I think that these difficulties could be overcome. We have other minority problems with Ukrainians and Lithuanians. For the first time after the war, a representative of the Ukrainian minority is in the Polish Parliament. He was a Solidarity candidate. In fact, only "Polish voters" voted for him. It is also conceivable that a Silesian who declares himself for German culture could become a member of Parliament.

DIE WELT: Is the fact that the German minority is recognized in Poland new?

Pszon: A taboo has been broken. That is new. During the chancellor's visit, a statement on these issues will be made. It will also include the goal of promoting the Polish language and culture in Germany at schools and universities, for instance. The way Germany and France deal with each other is an example in this respect.

DIE WELT: How about the future cultivation of the German language in Poland?

Pszon: The German language will be respected in the regions where the German minority lives. We cannot guarantee that we will put this into practice immediately. We do not have enough German teachers. However, Bonn will help us train them. The German minority also has access to our newspapers, if they like. That holds also true for the founding of libraries. However, we should not forget that this is often also a money problem. There was an underground press in Poland for many years, where all minority groups published, except for the Germans. Let us see whether this will change in the future.

DIE WELT: What accords have been reached on memorial places?

Pszon: We have agreed to reconstruct Kreisau Castle, the estate of Helmuth James Graf Moltke in memory of the fact that resistance groups against Hitler met there. The castle will house an international education institution. This idea was suggested by quarters of the Catholic intelligentsia in Breslau [Wroclaw]. Setting up this institution will be financed from our obligations resulting from the billion-mark credit granted by the Schmidt government, which has been transformed into Zloty. From this fund, a memorial pavilion of the Federal Republic in Auschwitz will also be financed. In addition, memorial plaques are envisaged and will be put up at Hitler's headquarters in Rastenburg [Ketrzyn] in memory of Graf Stauffenberg, at the house in Culm [Chelmno] where Kurt Schumacher was born, and at the houses of Gerhart Hauptmann in Bad Salzbrunn [Szczawno Zdroj] and Josef von Eichendorff in Lubowitz near Ratibor [Raciborz]. Memory plaques of Poles who were killed during the National Socialist dictatorship will be put up in Murnau, Nuremberg, and Bergen-Belsen. In addition, agreement has been reached on the care of German war graves.

DPA Reports on Continuing GDR Refugee Problem

680 More Refugees in Embassy

LD1210202889 Hamburg DPA in German 1736 GMT 12 Oct 89

[Text] Warsaw (DPA)—Around 680 GDR citizens again sought refuge in the Federal Republic's Warsaw Embassy. They have arrived since the departure of the last refugee train a week ago. When, or whether, there will be a possibility of emigrating to the Federal Republic for these refugees could not be learned today.

The seekers of refuge are being accomodated in approximately 12 different vacation resorts, and are being looked after there by both the Polish and German Red Cross, as well as church welfare organizations.

Numbers Continue To Increase

LD1310110989 Hamburg DPA in German 1044 GMT 13 Oct 89

[Excerpt] Warsaw (DPA)—This morning more than 700 GDR citizens were in the care of the German Embassy in Warsaw, which was reopened to the public today. The refugees will be accommodated in vacation resorts outside Warsaw, but are waiting in the mission's buildings

for transportation there at the first opportunity. They are being looked after by the Polish and German Red Cross, as well as Catholic charities.

It is becoming increasingly difficult to find sufficient accommodation for them, as only heatable buildings can be used in the cold, damp autumn weather. Today there was still no sign of whether or when there will be a train to the Federal Republic via the GDR, or if another solution will have to be found.

Among the newcomers once again were some who crossed the border illegally. Whether such illegal border crossers were no longer being sent back by the Polish border guards still could not be confirmed clearly. [passage omitted]

USSR Requested to Investigate Katyn Murders

LD1210191789 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1830 GMT 12 Oct 89

[Text] The Polish prosecutor general has applied to the prosecutor general of the Soviet Union to begin an investigation into the murders in Katyn and other places, which have not yet been established, of Polish officers who in the fall of 1939 were placed in camps in Kozielsk, Starobielsk, Ostaszkow, as well as to hold a rehabilitation trial of Polish political groups which were sentenced in Moscow in June 1945. In the light of international obligations which bind both the Soviet Union and Poland, the genocide is not subject to a statutory limitation, we read in the statement of the prosecutor general of the Polish People's Republic.

The second application of the prosecutor general concerns the Moscow criminal proceedings against Jan Stanislaw Jankowski, deputy premier of the government of the Polish Republic having its seat in London [during World War II], Gen Leopold Okulicki, former commander in chief of the Home Army, and 14 representatives of Polish political groups in the Council of National Unity. Historians as well as public opinion have reservations as to the legality of their being held, arrested, charged, and convicted. A rehabilitation trial in this matter cannot be held in Poland as all trial decisions were made by Soviet court bodies.

The applications of the prosecutor general of the Polish People's Republic were transmitted by diplomatic means.

Rakowski on Meeting With Gorbachev

LD1210162289 Warsaw PAP in English 1506 GMT 12 Oct 89

[Text] Moscow, Oct. 12—"I am very satisfied at the meeting", First PUWP CC Secretary Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski told PAP on Wednesday shortly before his departure from Moscow where he had met with CPSU CC Secretary General Mikhail Gorbachev.

He added that upon his arrival in Warsaw he would convey to Premier Mazowiecki some results of his talks with Gorbachev.

"We discussed problems pertaining to economic cooperation," Rakowski elaborated on his meeting with the Soviet leader. "Issues of economic relations with the Soviet Union are in the government's competences, of course, but in consultation with Premier Mazowiecki I decided to use my visit here to signal to Soviet comrades several of the economic issues that Poland is interested in most."

"I think that good relations that my party maintains with the Soviet party as well as personal contacts with the CPSU leadership let us act with a view to Poland's welfare.

"Upon my arrival in Warsaw I will convey to the premier results of that part of the talks," Mieczyslaw Rakowski stated.

Sejm Delegation Attends NATO Assembly Session

LD1010122489 Warsaw PAP in English 1147 GMT 10 Oct 89

[By PAP correspondent Bozydar Sosien]

[Text] Rome, Oct. 10—A delegation of the Polish Sejm including deputies Krzysztof Komornicki (PUWP) [Polish United Workers' Party] and Jan Rokita (Citizens' Parliamentary Floor Group, OKP) was for the first time invited to take part as observers in the 35th Session of the Parliamentary Assembly of NATO States that wound up its debates here.

"It is a signum temporis of sorts that hosts of the NATO Assembly Plenary Session invited us to take seats in the first row, next to deputy chief of the General Staff of the Red Army, General Lobov, who also had been invited to take part in the session," Komornicki and Rokita told PAP.

"Characteristic was also an appeal for Poland and Hungary launched at the end of the debates of the Political Committee by its chairman, British deputy Bruce George, who said that needed was a concrete action, an expensive one but indispensable.

"We believe that the presence of the Polish Sejm delegation at the session which discussed also Polish issues was very useful and even necessary," added Rokita and Komornicki.

Mazowiecki Attends Emigres' Economic Forum

LD0810012389 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 7 Oct 89

[Text] [Announcer] Over to Poznan.

[Correspondent] Political changes that have taken place in our country require transformations in the government's policies toward all Polish emigration. Tadeusz

Mazowiecki said during the meeting with the participants of the 15th Polonian Economic Forum. In his speech he stressed the particular role that can be played by the forum participants. He announced the abolition of all the barriers the Poles from abroad encounter when performing economic activities.

[Begin Mazowiecki recording] We hope the emigres will learn and prove that good business can also be done at the Warta and Vistula rivers. The emigres may play the first role in paving the way for the foreign capital to Poland. It is of particular importance in our situation. I appeal to the emigres to turn their activities in just this direction. The (?Polonian emigres) may [word indistinct] also be a kind of relay of everything modern to Poland to the country of their ancestors—modern technology, organization, and many other spheres that are so important for further the country's development. [end recording]

[Correspondent] Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki also spoke about the matters concerning all emigres. There is a lot to catch up with and it is necessary to publicly express apologies for years of humiliation, lies, and stopping the possibilities of keeping contact with the homeland, he said: We want to create conditions whereby the emigrees will feel needed for Poland and will be aware that the Polish state guarantees them, as all other Poles, possibilities of normal activity in Poland, he added. He announced many changes, for example, the introduction of the law on dual citizenship, as well as the solution of the problem concerning purchases of immovable assets in Poland through the introduction of improvements in the currency and pension laws. At the end of the meeting the guest answered questions posed by the Polonian businessmen.

Speaks to Emigres

LD0910172289 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1830 GMT 8 Oct 89

[From the speech by Polish Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki at the 15th Polonian Economic Forum in Poznan on 7 October; recorded]

[Text] As premier I would like to make clear our intentions to meet emigres halfway. We want to create conditions in which emigres will feel that Poland needs them and will be aware that the Polish state guarantees them, as well as all other poles, the possibility for normal activity in Poland.

The role and functions of the state must change not only for the society—the members of which should regain full citizenship rights and become masters of their own country. We also wish to radically change policy toward the millions of emigres living in many parts of the world. The state is a common good of the whole nation and this also applies to that part of it which lives abroad, both in the West and in the East. We will strive to build bridges and not barriers between Poland and its emigres.

We would like to make it possible to keep Polish citizenship by adopting a law on dual citizenship. [applause]

We want to solve through legislation the problem of purchasing immovable assets in Poland. [applause] And improve currency and pension laws so that anybody wishing to return to one's homeland can do this without difficulty. The same refers to matters connected with visas and tourist facilties.

We will strive to create an effective system to teach Polish and to provide free access to Polish culture in those states where Polish minorities live. [applause] In particular, we will try to further facilitate cooperation and exchange in both directions, for Poles in the Soviet Union. [applause]

We want to maintain close contacts with political emigres and enable them—through changes in customs and censorship legislation—to present their achievements in Poland and to coshape Polish reality. The unity of culture in Poland and abroad is a fact which must be reflected in Polish legislation. A particular role in relations between Poland and emigrants is played by economic cooperation. I would like to assure you that we aim to remove all barriers which prevent Poles from abroad from conducting economic activity in Poland. We await suggestions on this issue, suggestions which may have ensued during this forum.

We hope the emigres will learn and prove that good business can also be done at the Warta and Vistula rivers. The emigres may play the first role in paving the way for foreign capital to Poland. It is of particular importance in out situation. I appeal to the emigres to turn their activities in just this direction. (?Polonian emigres) may [word indistinct] also be a kind of relay of everything modern to Poland to the country of their ancestors—modern technology, organization, and many other spheres that are so important for furthering the country's development.

The Polonian Economic Forum has taken root in Polish reality, furthering the mutual recognition and cooperation between the homeland and emigrants. I wish to thank you sincerely, and through you, all the Poles abroad who have begun economic cooperation with Poland. I wish you not only fruitful further meetings, but first of all, succesful contracts and investments in Poland. I trust you will help us make Poland a solid and attractive partner for the countries in which you live. I also trust you will spare no dedication and generosity for the homeland which today is in great need and which sees new opportunity ahead.

Mazowiecki Thanks Home Residents for Donation

LD0910042789 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2300 GMT 8 Oct 89

[Text] Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki, who has been in Poznan, visited a social assistance home in (? Pokrzywno), in the vicinity of the city. The residents of the

home had sent a letter to the premier, informing him of donating Z3.2 billion for national needs. Tadeusz Mazowiecki warmly thanked the donors for their donation.

Mazowiecki Opens Agro-Industrial Fair

LD0910043189 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2300 GMT 8 Oct 89

[Text] Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki has taken part in the opening in Poznan of the Fifth International Agro-Industrial Fair Polagra-89 in which more than 700 exhibitors from Poland and 24 other states are participating. The premier decorated the banner of the Poznan International Trade Fair with the Officer's Cross of the Polonia Restituta Order awarded for its special contribution to the development of Polish foreign trade.

An international show of packaging and storage technologies, (?Taropak)-89, has also opened in Poznan.

NSZZ Executive Commission Conference Reported

Adopts Resolutions

LD0710042189 Warsaw PAP in English 0001 GMT 7 Oct 89

[Text] Gdansk, Oct. 6—The National Executive Commission of the NSZZ [Independent Self-Governing Trade Union] Solidarnosc ended its debates here today, attended by Lech Walesa. The commission adopted a resolution concerning the signing of additional protocols to collective agreements by branch structure.

The commission also adopted a resolution on the foundation of a congress committee and on the principles of holding regional elections to union authorities. It was stressed that delegates for the National Congress are to be elected in the proportion of 1 delegate per every 4000 members of the NSZZ Solidarnosc.

Resolution on Citizens' Committees

The commission discussed the union's stand on the movement of citizens' committees and adopted a resolution on this issue. The commission's members also discussed conditions for the participation of members of Solidarnosc in the work or organs of people's councils and decided that such participation can take place, with Solidarnosc members acting as observers after receiving consent from regional union authorities.

Supporting the goals of citizens' committees, the executive commission spoke in favour of a democratic development of cooperation structures of local citizens' committees as well as in favour of the democratic creation of their joint representation at the regional and national level.

As was explained by walesa's spokesman, Piotr Nowina-Konopka, people's councils are relics of the system in force during the past 40 years and the union does not see possibilities as well as reasons to make members of people's councils and methods of their functioning credible by officially joining them with membership rights.

Statement on Population's Living Conditions

The commission acquainted itself with a government draft law on indexation forwarded to the Sejm. The commission decided to authorize commission representatives to take part in the work of appropriate Sejm committees. The commission issued a statement in connection with the present situation of the working class which reads in part:

The commission expresses its concern over the recent hikes of food prices, the effects of which exceed in a considerable degree the planned increase of the costs of living.

In this dramatic situation it is necessary to immediately introduce wide protective measures in respect to the poorest social groups. There is a need to adjust to the current situation additional allowances paid in virtue of growing food prices, which should be paid each month. At the same time the commission points to the fact that each decision causing a considerable increase in the costs of living must be preceded by a public announcement and must be substantiated.

Polish society is expressing its readiness for self-denial, if only it is to lead towards the overcoming of the crisis. However, society must be acquainted with it in detail and has to know the scope of the required sacrifice.

The commission also acquainted itself with the work of the commission for the recovery of the union's assets. The commission expressed its disapproval over activities of the All-Poland Alliance of Trade Unions OPZZ which, in contradiction to "round table" arrangements, hampers this process, refusing to convey information on the fate of Solidarnosc's assets.

Stipulates Backing to Committees

LD0710093189 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0500 GMT 7 Oct 89

[Text] The Independent Self-Governing Trade Union [NSZZ] Solidarity National Executive Commission [KKW] supports the activity of citizens' committees, but simultaneously adds the reservation that that support does not authorize the committees to use the name Solidarity. It states that the NSZZ Solidarity regional authorities could agree to their representatives taking part in the work of people's councils exclusively in the capacity of observers. A resolution was passed to formulate a congress commission, as well as one of the principles of regional elections. It familiarized itself with the draft indexation law. Concern was expressed at the recent food price increases, and the need for broad protective measures for the poorest social groups was stressed.

Walesa, Others Address Solidarity Meeting

LD0710155289 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1300 GMT 7 Oct 89

[Text] The Citizens' Committee leadership of Solidarity is discussing the citizens' movement in the present economic and political situation. Opening the meeting Lech Walesa said that at present, the most important tasks were [?the continuing] formation of political pluralism, finding owners for about 80 percent of Poland's economy, as well as depoliticizing all state services.

Bronislaw Geremek presented Poland's political and economic situation. He reported on the proposal of the Initiative for National Sacrifice, the aims of which would be to support Prime Minister Mazowiecki's government, as well as the creating of a situation in which a mass of people would identify themselves with the successes or failures of the government.

Marcin Krol proposed the formation of a citizens' movement council that would coordinate all civic movements. One of its tasks would be to guarantee the democratic course of the local government elections, as well as the organization of social aid in the coming months.

PAP Report

LD0710205489 Warsaw PAP in English 1941 GMT 7 Oct 89

[Text] Warsaw, Oct. 7—The Citizens' Committee at [as received] Solidarity Chairman Lech Walesa held a session today to determine directions of further activity of the movement of citizens' committees in the current political and economic situation. In an opening address Walesa listed three main tasks in the current situation, that is the final stage of the introduction of political pluralism which will find an expression in legal activity of political parties, privatisation of some 80 percent of state property and deprivation of all state administration bodies of political character.

Deputy Bronislaw Geremek spoke about the sociopolitical situation. He regarded the dramatic economic situation and the existence of political forces striving for the defense of the old system as the main threats at present. To overcome these threats, necessary is not only unification but also sacrifice of society. Geremek forwarded an initiative to call for national sacrifice, earlier proposed by Andrzej Wajda.

Henryk Wujec delivered a report on the work of the Citizens' Committee. Set up last Dec. 16, the committee before the elections numbers some 160 persons now. It is a consultative body operating at [as received] the Solidarity chairman.

As regards the future of the Citizens Committee and the need to appoint a Citizens's Movement Council, opinions varied. The draft resolution on this issue was changed several times and finally adopted by small majority.

In the resolution the Citizens's Committee at [as received] the Solidarity chairman called for the widespread formation of Citizens' Committees in Poland and abroad as well as determined its further role in the following way: The committee, as an inspiring, consultative and aiding body, does not have legislative power and cannot replace a centre for coordination of political parties and organizations and also vocational and artists' associations.

In the coming months the committee will undertake activities aimed, first of all, to prepare elections to local self-government and to stimulate all local civic initiatives, especially economic, cultural and educational ones, the resolution said.

Solidarity Candidate Wins Senate Seat

LD0910102689 Warsaw PAP in English 0856 GMT 9 Oct 89

[Text] Piotrkow Trybunalski, Oct. 9—Solidarity candidate Piotr Andrzejewski, a Warsaw lawyer who counseled in many political trials, was elected senator in by-elections in Piotrkow Trybunalski, central Poland, on Sunday.

Andrzejewski, running for the Senate seat on the slate of the Solidarity citizens' committee, won 43,080 votes or 65.07 percent, outpacing Leopold Falak, a PUWP [Polish United Workers Party] candidate, who won 16.18 percent, Zygmunt jankowski, a Peasant Party candidate who won 11.44 percent, Miroslaw Kaliszczak of the Democratic Party who won 2.73 percent and Stanislaw Kersz, another Democratic Party candidate who won 3.06 percent of the votes.

Only 67,849 of those eligible to vote turned up for the voting out of the total of 464,767 of the electorate in this constituency.

The by-elections in Piotrkow Trybunalski followed the death of the late senator Grzegorz Bialkowski who had been elected to the Senate from the Solidarity ticket in this constituency.

Michnik on National Role of 'Solidarity'

LD0610214789 Warsaw PAP in English 2008 GMT 6 Oct 89

[Text] Warsaw, Oct. 6—"Lech Walesa is a national leader and Solidarity is the movement of the entire nation," Adam Michnik wrote in a commentary headlined "Trade Union Is Not Enough Any More" carried today by the GAZETA WYBORCZA Solidarity paper.

"However, the question about instututional consequences ensuing from this is still open. What does the solidarity movement want to be? Does it want to be a political force exclusively as a trade union? Does it, as a trade union, want to be an exclusive support for the

citizens' parliamentary club and Premier Mazowiecki? Or maybe the time has come to search for new forms of presence" Michnik asked.

"I am of the opinion that the construction of a democratic order demands from citizens' committees to form the Solidarity movement of citizens. I am of the opinion that it lies in the interest of the independent trade union Solidarity that such a movement be formed before elections to local self-government, a movement of citizens which will be able to transform Poland in the spirit of Solidarity ideas and under its banner. I subject this opinion to public judgement," he said.

"The Solidarity movement needs more differentiated institutions: a trade union and a citizens' movement. One may ponder upon the shape of mutual relations. However, it is difficult to defend a thesis to the effect that the movement that has reached out for the mission of forming the government may be satisfied with the formula of a trade union. The trade union that is to decide about all things cannot be a trade union any more. It will be an institution for all things: everything and nothing as it will do no good. The situation demands that political postulates be articulated in terms of a political movement," Michnik continued.

"I do not think that Solidarity is a federation of separate political options. I think it is a specific Polish synthesis of once competetive orientations, a movement stemming organically from Polish soil and Polish struggle against a totalitarian system. The set of Solidarity principles consists of Christian ethic and open close relationship with the values of the Catholic Church, the national tradition of fight for freedom, independence and tolerance, persistent fight for social justice and liberation of the world of labour, for truth in the world of political conflicts and rationalism in the world of economic decisions," Michnik went on to say.

"I say that Solidarity is neither rightist or leftist, neither social-democratic nor Christian-democratic. Solidarity is a new movement, impossible to be understood and described in terms of political notions of the second republic."

"I assume that it is also impossible to reconstruct the world of political divisions that existed a year ago. We have entered an era of shaping divisions of a new type, characteristic of an era of post-totalitarian evolution. Democratic ideas will be now clashing with longings for autocracy, European ideas with nationalist parochiality, open society with close society. Therefore I say that Poland needs such a movement as Solidarity," Michnik concluded.

PZPR Spokesman on Cooperating With Solidarity

LD0810215289 Warsaw PAP in English 2057 GMT 8 Oct 89

[By PAP correspondent Mariusz Kuklinski]

[Text] London, Oct. 8—Speaking on British Television Channel Four on Saturday, PUWP [Polish United Workers Party] spokesman Jan Bisztyga rejected a suggestion that his party will form an opposition to the Solidarity government. He stressed that the PUWP will display a constructive attitude, cooperate with Solidarity and bear co-responsibility for further progress of reforms in Poland.

The PUWP is in the course of transformations adjusting it to requirements posed by parliamentary democracy which no longer permit to use bureaucratic methods of work. We should change the programme, organization and political platform so as to increase the party's attractiveness in the eyes of society, Bisztyga said.

Assessing possible directions of programmatic evolution in the PUWP, Bisztyga said there is little probability of the PUWP becoming a social-democratic party, as this orientation never enjoyed a major support in Poland. On the other hand, Polish socialist tradition is almost one-hundred-years old.

PZPR Politburo Discusses Congress Preparations

LD1110093189 Warsaw PAP in English 1730 GMT 10 Oct 89

[Text] Warsaw, Oct. 10—The PUWP [Polish United Workers Party] CC [Central Committee] Political Bureau met here today to discuss party's planned activities after the 15th Plenary Meeting.

It was recognized that during preparation for the 11th Congress, party links must work-out new forms and methods of work appropriate to the changed political conditions in Poland. Special importance will gain the search for efficient ways of influencing local societies and the creation of alliances with all forces of the left seeking success in reforms and improvement of living conditions of the working people.

Members of the Political Bureau acquainted themselves with the social and economic situation in Poland. The bureau confirmed the stand formulated during the 15th Plenary Meeting on government's activities. It was stressed that in the current conditions it is especially important that the programme of implementation of the economic reform and the process of halting inflation would not burden unfairly only those people living from their own work.

The Political Bureau approved proposals concerning the organizational preparations for the 11th Congress.

Politburo Discusses Economic Program

LD1110095589 Warsaw PAP in English 1757 GMT 10 Oct 89

[Text] Warsaw, Oct. 10—The PUWP [Polish United Workers Party] CC [Central Committee] political bureau which met here Tuesday made a preliminary analysis of

the main directions of the government's economic programme presented by Deputy Premier Leszek Balcerowicz at a press conference last week, the Central Committee's spokesman reported today.

The generally presented directions and goals are to a large extent a continuation of steps taken by the previous Council of Ministers led by Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski, it was stated.

The Political Bureau noted with satisfaction the continuation of the previous government's activities in favor of starting or tightening cooperation both with countries and international organilzations being our many-year partners, and with those with which we practically did not cooperate until recently: the FRG, Kuwait, the EC, South Korea, Israel, Taiwan, etc.

It is good that the government launched legislative initiatives aimed at a more radical shape of the principles of wages indexation and the budget's construction, especially its income sources.

These solutions, proposed in July by the Rakowski government, were rejected by the Sejm and the Senate. The Political Bureau turns to the PUWP deputies' floor group to support them, pointing at the same time to the precious time irretrievably lost.

The Political Bureau also turns to PUWP members to support the action of purchasing treasury bills as a form of checking inflation—prepared by the finance minister in late spring of this year.

President Jaruzelski Nominates New Generals

LD0910173889 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1500 GMT 9 Oct 89

[Text] On the occasion of Polish Armed Forces Day, President Wojciech Jaruzelski presented some officers with acts nominating them to the rank of general in a ceremony at Belweder Palace. Among those honored are three officers who fought against the invader in 1939—Roman Pazkowski, Zbigniew Michalski, and Adam Jaworski.

On the eve of Polish Armed Forces Day, President Wojciech Jaruzelski and Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki visited the Wysocki First Praga Mechanized Regiment, named after Captain Wladyslaw Wysocki.

PAP Profiles Those Honored

LD1010015889 Warsaw PAP in English 2219 GMT 9 Oct 89

[Text] Warsaw, oct. 9—The generals who received appointment papers from Polish President Wojciech Jaruzelski today included those who had struggled against German invaders in 1939 as officers of the Polish Army.

Gen Roman Paszkowski, 76, commanded a company of the 22nd Infantry Regiment in Poland's war of defence against Nazi Germany in 1939. He spent Nazi occupation of Poland in an officer's prisoner of war camp. After Poland's liberation, he joined the Polish Army to hold many responsible posts. He was victimized in 1951-1955. He was again called up to the Army in 1957 and was commander of Poland's air defence troops. He is now chairman of the Council for the Protection of Memory of Struggle and Martyrdom. He retired from active service in 1986.

Gen Zbigniew Michalski, 78, commanded a reconnaissance company in Poland's 1939 war of defence. He spent the occupation in an officer's prisoner of war camp. After the liberation, he joined the Polish Army to command a regiment of tanks and an armoured division and was deputy commander of the Pomeranian Military District and was pensioned off in 1972.

Gen Adam Jaworski, 82, was operational officer of the 30th infantry division in poland's 1939 war of defence. He spent the occupation in an officer's prisoner of war camp. After the liberation, he joined the Polish Army to hold responsible posts, including at the artillery's chief inspectorate. He was victimized in 1952-1956. He was again called up to the Army in 1957 and was the artillery's chief of the Warsaw Military District. He was pensioned off in 1961.

Jaruzelski Chairs Army, Militia Joint Meeting

LD0910222489 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1830 GMT 9 Oct 89

[Text] Under the chairmanship of President Wojciech Jaruzelski, a joint session of the Military Council of the Ministry of National Defense and the leadership cadres of the Ministry of Internal Affairs has taken place. Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki took part in the deliberations. During the session the problems of both ministries were discussed against the background of the sociopolitical situation of the country. Information was given about the restructuring being carried out in the armed forces and having as its aim the economic and rational exploitation of the resources allocated for defence and also about the transformations taking place in the Ministry of Internal Affairs. General Wojciech Jaruzelski and Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki, on the occasion of the days of the Militia and Security Service [SB] and also of the Polish People's Army passed on to the participants in the meeting sincere best wishes, and through their mediation to all soldiers in the Polish Army and functionaries of the Ministry of Internal Affairs.

Miller Meets Security Services Functionaries

LD0810011489 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2200 GMT 7 Oct 89

[Text] The 45th anniversary of the creation of the Citizens' Militia and the Security Services was the occasion for a meeting between Leszek Miller and functionaries thereof. There was much talk about the difficulties and troubles of everyday service, growing crime rates,

and the falling numbers in the militia and the fall in the authority of and social sympathy for the activities of the Ministry [of Internal Affairs]. Functionaries, it was said, are ready in their everyday activity to prove their role of service in relation to society, but thorough information about their activities is a necessity. The party and its future in the Ministry and other institutions was also discussed as was the forthcoming 11th Congress. Leszek Miller, passing best wishes from Mieczyslaw Rakowski on to the functionaries also stressed the necessity for the unity of the forces of the left, to which Polish society is, despite everything, attached.

Two Security Service Departments Closed

LD0910155189 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1830 GMT 7 Oct 89

[Interview with Deputy Minister of Internal Affairs General Zbigniew Pudysz by unidentified correspondent; date, place not given—live or recorded]

[Text] [Correspondent] The changes which are taking place in the Ministry of Internal Affairs appear to be the deepest in its 45-year history. Is this true?

[Pudysz] Yes, the essence of these changes is that the Ministry if adapting its tasks to the new social and political conditions, resulting from the existence of parliamentary democracy and a broad coalition government. The Ministry of Internal Affairs does not shape the character of the directions of state policy—it is its executor on the basis of existing law.

[Correspondent] What about the security services?

[Pudysz] The tasks of the security services have been restricted. This stems from the fact that many tasks are no longer current.

[Correspondent] What does this mean?

[Pudysz] That is, I mean those tasks which were undertaken within the framework of the so-called superstructure, and religious associations. [as heard]

[Correspondent] Could the minister be more specific about these changes?

[Pudysz] Yes, the Third and Fourth Departments have been terminated.

[Correspondent] Are there any envisaged changes in the militia, since the detection-rate is low?

[Pudysz] The basic direction of changes in the Civic Militia is based on the creation of better conditions in the sphere of combating common crime. I am thinking about crimes [word indistinct] life, health, and property of citizens, which most affects the great mass of the public.

[Correspondent] Will political education departments be liquidated?

[Pudysz] We can also speak of a reorganization here. I am thinking a[illegible]t educational departments, which will be involved in educating, training, and shaping ethical and moral attitudes. This direction of change, no doubt, will enhance the prestige of the functionary in public opinion. On this occasion, Mr Editor, noting the fact that we are celebrating the 45th anniversary of the creation of the Civic Militia and the Security Services, I would like to thank functionaries of the Ministry of Internal Affairs for their generous work and activity in aid of the public, and to wish them the best of luck.

'Anarchist Inter-City' Holds Demonstration

LD1210230689 Warsaw PAP in English 2213 GMT 12 Oct 89

[Text] Warsaw, Oct. 12—The "Miedzymiastowka Anarchistyczna" (Anarchist Inter-City) organization organized a street demonstration in Warsaw today, chanting "Down with obligatory military service," "Down with the authorities", and "Mazowiecki must go."

Over 100 people marched through downtown Warsaw to the Sejm (Parliament) building where they demanded an end to student military training and obligatory military service. The protesters next walked to the Ministry of Justice where they demanded the release of deserters and burnt military cards.

Trade Union Body Rejects Draft Indexation Law

LD1010221689 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1830 GMT 10 Oct 89

[Text] The Executive Committee of the National Trade Union Accord [OPZZ] has met. The trade unionists discussed the government draft changes to the law on indexation, and also the economic programme. Waclaw Martyniuk said that the OPZZ is rejecting the draft changes to the law on indexation since it infringes workers' interests. The trade unionists are demanding that the whole public sector should be encompassed by once-monthly indexation. They also postulate a monthly valorization of annuities and pensions, family allowances and other social benefits.

[Begin recording] [Unidentified correspondent] Alfred Miodowicz, will the OPZZ support the government's economic program?

[Miodowicz] We intend to support every good government economic program. However, we have a small problem here. First, we don't know if this program is a program, because at the moment it is a collection of slogans and wishful thinking. We don't know how it will be applied. However, everything useful in this program which helps working people will of course get our support. At the moment, I see that this is a program directed at two groups: first, at the poor, of whom there will be a great number, and at the rich, of whom, it would appear, there is also going to be a lot. I fear that the whole center group has been missed out, and so, those in the middle,

such as me, for example, well, in this connection, we don't really know who this applies to, since we will either build [word indistinct] or we will build palaces, and neither one nor the other will befit our country. [end recording]

Party Chairman Opposes Party Registration

LD0910211989 Warsaw PAP in English 1950 GMT 9 Oct 89

[Text] Warsaw, Oct. 9—Chairmen of the Confederation of Independent Poland (KPN) Leszek Moczulski, of the Polish Socialist Party (PPS) Chief Council Jan Jozef Lipski, and of the Party of Labour Wladyslaw Sila-Nowicki conveyed to PAP a statement which reads in part:

"The draft amendments to the constitution submitted to the Sejm by PUWP [Polish United Workers Party] and DP [Democratic Party] deputies envisage registration of political parties by the Constitutional Tribunal. We come out against such a solution since it may lead to a considerable restriction of citizens' political freedoms.

"We think that, like in most democratic countries, it should be sufficient for a political party to notify the court or the Sejm of the fact of starting activity.

"We also demand legal equality for all political parties, both for those whose names have been entered in the Constitution up till now and for those that already act or may be formed in the future".

Sejm Defense Committee Discusses Policy

LD0810004989 Warsaw PAP in English 2110 GMT 7 Oct 89

[Text] Warsaw, Oct. 7—During their another session held here today, deputies of the Sejm Committee for National Defence were informed by representatives of the Ministry of National Defence about selected military issues. Especially those concerning the two military alliances in Europe as well as about the structure and tasks of the Polish Armed Forces. The session was attended by Minister of National Defence Gen Florian Siwicki.

The assumptions of the amended war doctrine of Poland against the background of the alliance doctrine of the Warsaw treaty as well as the basic tasks and organisational structure of the Polish Armed Forces was presented by Gen Franciszek Puchala.

The conviction that war cannot be the continuation of a policy is a prerequiste of the strictly defensive character of the alliance and national war doctrine. It is met halfway by the organisation of the Polish Armed Forces being restructured to this end. This year the Polish Army consisting of some 347 thousand soldiers, will be reduced by 33 thousand men and by the end of 1990—by further 7 thousand. The number of units and armoured equipment, as well as warplanes will also be considerably reduced.

Gen Marian Daniluk said that defence expenditures calculated in fixed prices had been significantly cut recently. In comparison with 1986 they have dropped by 22 per cent over the last two years.

Leaders' Public Appearances for 27 Sep - 3 Oct

AU0910142289

[Editorial report] TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish monitored from 28 September to 4 October reports the following appearances of Polish leaders (date and page of each report given in parentheses):

On 3 October, Leszek Miller, Politburo member and Central Committee secretary, and Slawomir Wiatr, Central Committee secretary gave a press conference at the INTERPRESS Center, in Warsaw, following the end of the 15th Polish United Workers Party [PZPR] Central Committee Plenum. (4 Oct 89 p 6).

Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, received Valery Giscard d'Estaing, former president of France, on 28 September. (29 Sep 89 p 1).

Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki received Ed Nijpels, minister of building and environmental planning in the Netherlands, on 27 September. (28 Sep 89 p 2). He attended the official inauguration of the academic year at the Jagiellonian University in Krakow, on 3 October. (3 Oct 89 p 1). He received Marian Renke, Polish ambassador to Spain, on 3 October. (4 Oct 89 p 2).

President Wojciech Jaruzelski, attended the inauguration of the academic year at the University of Warsaw, on 2 October. (3 Oct 89 p 1).

Slawomir Wiatr, Central Committee secretary, met with Polish scout leaders on 29 September. (2 Oct 89 pp 1, 3).

Food Lines Seen Outside Bucharest Shops

AU1210113089 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1100 GMT 12 Oct 89

[Text] People are waiting for hours in front of shops in Bucharest to buy 200 grams of salami or bacon. Even for that they need identity cards as proof that they live in the Bucharest area.

The people in the lines are even more embittered after the television report on President Nicolae Ceausescu's visit to some shops. The report showed stacks of food, semi-cooked food, cheese, meat, nicely packaged vegetables. Only a few hours after his visit it was difficult to buy even a half of kilo of ground meat and 300 grams each of salami, cheese, and bacon in Bucharest shops.

Olteanu Receives Mongolian Party Delegation

AU0210200289 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1844 GMT 2 Oct 89

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES, 2/10/1989—At the invitation of the CC [Central Committee] of the RCP [Romanian Communist Party], a delegation of activists of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party [MPRP], headed by P. Bat-Ochir, member of the CC of the MPRP, first secretary of the Middle Gobi Provincial Committee of the MPRP, paid a swap-of-experience visit to Romania, over 25-30 September.

The delegation conducted talks at the RCP Central Committee, RCP Committees of Iasi and Suceava Counties and visited economic units and socio-cultural establishments in Bucharest and the two counties.

At the end of the visit, the delegation was received by Constantin Olteanu, member of the Executive Political Committee, secretary of the CC of the RCP.

The interview was attended by Osoryn Genden, ambassador of Mongolia in Bucharest.

Secretary Sirbu Receives CPSU Delegation

AU0210195689 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1812 GMT 2 Oct 89

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES, 2/10/1989—A delegation of activists of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, headed by V.A. Revkuts, secretary of the Krasnoyarsk County Party Committee, paid a visit for swap of experience to Romania at the invitation of the Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party [RCP], over September 25-October 2, 1989.

The members of the delegation had talks at the CC [Central Committee] of the RCP, the Arges and Timis County Committees of the RCP, at executives of ministries and central institutions, saw round industrial units and socio-cultural establishments in Bucharest and in the counties of Arges, Timis and Brasov.

At the close of the visit, the Soviet guests were received by Ion Sirbu, secretary of the CC of the RCP.

Pakistani Leaders Receive Ceausescu's Envoy

AU0210074989 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1800 GMT 1 Oct 89

[Text] On behalf of Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, a message was conveyed to the president of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan, Ghulam Ishaq Khan. A warm salute of friendship and best wishes for good health and success in his entire activity and for progress, prosperity, and peace to the friendly Pakistani people were expressed in the message.

The message underscores the upward course of the collaboration and cooperation between the two countries and peoples, as well as the good prospects for their more powerful development in the future, both bilaterally—in the economic, technical-scientific and cultural fields—and internationally, aimed at promoting a policy of peace, detente, the constructive political settlement of litigious interstate issues, and of collaboration and broad understanding among nations.

President Ghulam Ishaq Khan expressed warm thanks for the message and asked that President Nicolae Ceausescu be conveyed his cordial salute and best wishes for new successes in the activity devoted to the Romanian people's welfare and happiness and to Romania's progress and prosperity.

The exchange of messages took place when the president of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan, Ghulam Ishaq Khan, received Constantin Mitea, councellor, special envoy of the president of the Socialist Republic of Romania.

A warm exchange of messages also took place when the special envoy of President Nicolae Ceausescu was received by Benazir Bhutto, the prime minister of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan. Expressing warm thanks for the message and wishes extended to her, the Pakistani prime minister requested that cordial greetings and sincere wishes for good health and happiness and complete successes in his activity be conveyed to President Nicolae Ceausescu, and to Comrade Elena Ceausescu, together with wishes for progress and well being to the Romanian people.

During the meeting, the sides reviewed the good relations of friendship and cooperation between Romania and Pakistan and they reasserted the wish of the two countries to continue to develop these relations more powerfully in various areas, for the benefit of both peoples and in the interest of the cause of detente and international cooperation. The sides also approached some current international issues and stressed that the efforts of all nations should be increased in order to bring about disarmament, eliminate the policy of force and the threat of force, and ensure the right of each nation to decide its own development path without any outside interference. They stressed the need to increase efforts

and actions towards finding political, negotiated solutions to all conflicts and state of tension that are still prevailing in various regions of the world and, within this context, they paid particular attention to the issues of political settlement, through a broad national reconciliation, of the problems in Afghanistan.

Leaders' Public Appearances for 30 Sep - 6 Oct

AU0710184189

[Editorial report] Romanian media report the following public appearances of Romanian leaders during the 30 September-6 October period (sources of each report given in parentheses):

President Nicolae Ceausescu and Elena Ceausescu paid a working visit to Ialomita County economic units on 1 October. (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1741 GMT 1 Oct 89)

Constantin Olteanu, member of the Political Executive Committee (PEC) and secretary of the Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party (RCP), and Suzana Gadea, candidate PEC member, attended a GDR film gala on the 40th GDR founding anniversary in Bucharest on 5 October. (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1855 GMT 5 Oct 89)

Manea Manescu, PEC member and vice president of the State Council, Constantin Olteanu, PEC member and secretary of the RCP Central Committee, and Gheorghe Oprea, PEC member and first deputy prime minister of the government, attended a GDR Embassy reception on the 40th GDR anniversary in Bucharest on 5 October. (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1859 GMT 5 Oct 89)

Ion Patan, minister of finance, and Ion Popescu-Puturi, chairman of the Romanian-Chinese Friendship Association, attended a PRC Embassy dinner on the 40th anniversary of Romanian-PRC diplomatic ties. (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 2000 GMT 5 Oct 89)

President Nicolae Ceausescu paid a working visit to food industry units in Bucharest on 2 October (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1819 GMT 2 Oct 89). On 4 October, Ceausescu visited an agricultural research institute in Bucharest (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1901 GMT 4 Oct 89) and also received a delegation of Costa Rican parliamentarians (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1813 GMT 4 Oct 89) and the new Turkish ambassador to Bucharest, Tugay Ulucevik (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1818 GMT 4 Oct 89). On 5 October, Ceausescu chaired and addressed a working meeting at RCP Central Committee headquarters on economic matters (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1955 GMT 5 Oct 89). On 6 October, Nicolae Ceausescu arrived in Berlin for GDR anniversary ceremonies and was welcomed by GDR leader Erich Honecker. (Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1600 GMT 6 Oct 89)

Stefan Andrei, deputy prime minister of the government, and Ion Popescu-Puturi, chairman of the Romanian-Chinese Friendship Association, attended a reception on the 40th anniversary of the establishment of diplomatic ties with PRC in Bucharest on 4 October. (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1749 GMT 4 Oct 89)

Nicolae Giosan, chairman of the Grand National Assembly, received a delegation of Costa Rican parliamentarians in Bucharest on 2 October (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1843 GMT 2 Oct 89). On 4 October, he received Francis Newal, member of the Defense Commission of the British Parliament. (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1906 GMT 4 Oct 89)

Vasile Milea, minister of national defense, met with DPRK leader Kim Il-song in Pyongyang on 3 October. (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1841 GMT 3 Oct 89)

Constantin Olteanu, member of the PEC and secretary of the RCP Central Committee, received a Mongolian party delegation led by Central Committee member P. Bat-Ochir in Bucharest on 2 October. (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1844 GMT 2 Oct 89)

Ion Sirbu, secretary of the RCP Central Committee, received a CPSU delegation of activists in Bucharest on 2 October. (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1812 GMT 2 Oct 89)

Ion Stoian, candidate PEC member and secretary of the RCP Central Committee, met CPC leader Jiang Zemin and others in Beijing. (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1909 GMT 5 Oct 89)

Ioan Totu, minister of foreign affairs, addressed a meeting of Group of 77 representatives attending the UN General Assembly session in New York on 30 September. (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1806 GMT 30 Sep 89) On 2 October, he met UN Secretary General Perez de Cuellar in New York. (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1950 GMT 2 Oct 89)

AGERPRES Correction of Ceausescu Message

AU1210130689

The following correction to the item headlined "Ceausescu Telegrams Hungary's Nyers on Election," published in the 11 October East Europe Daily Report on page 79, is supplied from Bucharest AGERPRES in English at 1156 GMT on 12 October:

Paragraph one, middle of only sentence, through the middle of paragraph two reads: of the Hungarian Socialist Party, Rezso Nyers, the following telegram:

On your election as president of the Hungarian Socialist Party, I congratulate...(dropping "Workers'" from party name).

Paragraph three, middle of only sentence, reads: the Hungarian Socialist Party, between our...(dropping "Workers'" from party name).

FEC's Markovic Visits U.S., Holds Talks

TANJUG Previews Visit

LD0610211889 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1754 GMT 6 Oct 89

[Text] Belgrade, Oct 6 (TANJUG)—During his working visit to the U.S. October 9-14, Yugoslav Premier Ante Markovic will, according to schedule, meet with U.S. President George Bush.

During his stay in New York and Washington, Markovic will also confer with U.S. Secretary of State James Baker, other cabinet members, and high-placed personalities in the American Administration, Congress, and economic-financial institutions.

Markovic will also have talks with top representatives of the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank. Also planned is his speech to the Council for International Relations in New York, while he will also meet with American economists, journalists, and a group of American citizens of Yugoslav origin.

Makovic's visit should contribute to the development of overall Yugoslav-American relations, and also help the more realistic visualization of Yugoslavia's internal development and the better understanding and support of the U.S. in the implementation of thorough reforms in Yugoslavia.

BORBA Comments on Visit

AU1010140789 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 9 Oct 89 p 1

[Slobodan Pavlovic report: "Tradition Is Not Enough"]

[Text] New York, 8 Oct—Ante Markovic is not one of those people who are afraid of airplanes—but he will nevertheless find it difficult to set off on tomorrow's flight across the Atlantic totally relaxed and in exactly the right mood. This is because of the (well-known) circumstances that he is leaving at home and those that await him after he lands at Kennedy Airport: That is to say, certain dark clouds have appeared in the "air space" between the United States and Yugoslavia which have been amassing in the last few months and cooling the atmosphere.

For political meteorologists, these clouds, as has been stressed, are no longer a surprise nor a reason for particular concern—both sides are continuing to talk about traditional, long-term, stable, and friendly relations, imbued with mutual respect and understanding. Both in Washington and Belgrade, the thought is also being rejected that perhaps the time has come to change these established indicators. It certainly has not. However, has the moment come for a certain correction of these deeply respected stereotypes that are 4 decades old and are connected with this Yugoslav-American mathematics? Perhaps.

With New York Bankers

We will be able to say and write somewhat more and in more detail about this subject at the end of next week when the 4-day working visit to the United States by the president of the Federal Executive Council comes to an end. The visit officially begins on Tuesday with a series of meetings with the most influential New York bankers, businessmen, and other business people (unofficially, immediately after landing tomorrow Markovic will begin questioning the not inconsiderable team of representatives of Yugoslav business here) and continues in Washington on Wednesday where talks are envisaged with President Bush, Secretary of State Baker, and Defense Secretary Cheney, as well as with the leading people at the World Bank and the IMF.

Drnovsek, president of the SFRY Presidency, and federal secretary Loncar recently visited here (Loncar will in fact join the delegation in New York tomorrow after having participated in the work of the United Nations General Assembly) and took part in a mutual "feeling of pulses" which—at least for the widest public—ended with worn-out formulae to the effect that on this occasion there had been an "open and comprehensive exchange of views on the international situation and issues that concern relations between the United States and the SFRY."

However, with 10 October, the time comes for somewhat different talks, and with it a different partner, and because of this Ante Markovic's visit is being awaited here with particular interest and with the dilemma of great and far-reaching importance over what the official and business Washington have to convey to the head of the Yugoslav government and the country he represents in this very different international period.

Like a European

Considering what is already known in this connection, Markovic's negotiating cards are to be found in the successfully concluded summit of Nonaligned countries and in the desired direction redirected toward this movement, as well as in resolute persistence in the proclaimed economic reforms and support which the program of the Federal Executive Council has been receiving at the federal level, where this is most urgent and most important.

It is easy to suppose that talks on these Yugoslav political and economic shifts will dominate the meetings in New York and Washington, as an inevitable part of the context which could be called "a European analysis within the framework of unification in the West and restructuring in the East." Will Yugoslavia manage to maintain its position in this European landscape and can it count on possibly (if it is lucky) in some way even correcting its present anemic rating in this competition—somewhat more will be known about this on Friday when Markovic packs his papers and leaves Washington.

At this moment it is known and becoming increasingly obvious that American spotlights—regarding the European socialist world—are turned more and more toward Poland, Hungary, and the USSR, while a country, which was once in this respect far ahead of everyone with its reforms, self-managing democracy, and openness, is basically left to ponder where it erred and tripped up, as well as when, how, because of whom, and because of what, and to learn essential lessons from this if it is still at all capable of doing so.

As far as Washington is concerned, more or less open signals have so far been received that Yugoslav economic reform is viewed as essential for the way out of the crisis. In the next few days, the president of the Federal Executive Council will hear what he has so far not even known: The United States and other Yugoslav friends are able and willing to help our economic reform but not to bear responsibility for its implementation and success.... No, it is known who has the work and the obligation for this, just as it is known that this initial United States aid (in our specific case in the form of a more significant financial transfusion of at least $1 billion) can be counted on in practical terms only when we have really embarked on and entered at full speed into the complete program of economic reforms carried on the current "Markovic wave" toward the federal parliament and the only Yugoslav future.

New Treatment

As well as the Washington talks on economic restructuring, an exchange of views will also arise (perhaps it is best to say that this will precede the talks) on changes to the political system, during which the host will initially be confined to the role of listener, while the guest—for reasons which are not difficult to guess—will be in an extremely delicate and thankless position while presenting all-encompassing Yugoslav views and assessments of our present circumstances and difficulties and proposals to surmount them.

In this context, one can also find the already official United States demand for Yugoslavia to join in the current "processes of democratic progress and development," which—translated into the language of our present and future relations—means in practical terms that financial and other support from the United States directly depends on the political democratization which took root on our ground a long time ago but which is slowly and with difficulty bearing fruit, despite our conviction that we have provided the ideal climate for it.

Departs for U.S.

LD0910143389 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1110 GMT 9 Oct 89

[Text] Belgrade, 9 Oct (TANJUG)—Federal Executive Council [FEC] President Ante Markovic left Belgrade today for a 6-day working visit to the United States in the course of which he will be meeting and having talks with top officials from the Administration, representatives of the Congress, and economic and financial institutions.

Ante Markovic is expected to be received by U.S. President George Bush, and also envisaged are meetings between the FEC representative and State Secretary Baker, congressmen and representatives of the IMF and the World Bank.

Dzevad Mujezinovic, member of the FEC; Milovoje Maksic, Deputy Secretary for Foreign Affairs; Jovica Vejnovic, the FEC President's Adviser for Foreign Affairs; and Zarko Trbojevic, Vice Governor of the National Bank of Yugoslavia, also departed with Premier Markovic.

Views Relations

LD0910052789 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1218 GMT 8 Oct 89

[Text] New York, 8 Oct (TANJUG)—For it to become economically more efficient and politically more democratic, it is essential to change, and not to correct, the system. This is why we have opted for the market with all its factors—labor, capital and commodities, with the complete pluralism of ownership—Foreign Executive Council [FEC] President Ante Markovic stressed in an interview to the U.S. TV Network Worldwide TV News. To a question from a correspondent of this TV network, Rasim Crnovsanin, on what foreign assistance is needed to stabilize circumstances in Yugoslavia, Markovic said that we do not need help but need $1 billion to embark on a new cycle of development.

The interview is as follows:

Question: You are an engineer and constructor, a leader and today a courageous prime minister who intends to conquer galloping inflation of about 1,000 percent annually by introducing a market system. Can you tell us your plan?

Ante Markovic: The inflation which today prevails in Yugoslavia is the result of a crisis lasting many years and the incapability of this crisis being resolved in the existing system.

We have concluded it is essential to change and not to correct the system, in order for it to become economically more efficient and politically more democratic.

As a result of this, we have opted for a market with all its factors—labor, capital and commodities—and have a complete pluralism of ownership. With this logic we have decided to carry out large-scale deregulation. Thus, we are building a completely new system.

In the last 6 months we have elaborated all the basic normative and legislative preconditions for the construction of the new system. All the basic laws have been adopted.

In the meantime we have carried out and we are performing the reconstruction of the state, which must have a new function appropriate to market conditions, not only in the conventional sectors, but also in the field of macroeconomic policy, especially monetary and fiscal policy and relations with foreign countries. Apart from this, the legal role in the protection of the individual and his personality and his freedom must be strengthened.

We are facing the reality of this process, which will not be straight-forward because in parallel with this we must carry out several interventions: We must work on the creation of an infrastructure of the new system and on the institutions of the new system and the mechanisms of the new system. We must work on changes to the country's macroeconomic policy; we must identify deficits which are big in the public sector, in banking and industry; we must bring about their financial recovery from real sources and move from an inflationary financing of everything to a real financing of everything, from general consumption to development. At the same time we must open up a new process of development which will have qualitative factors, in the first instance, in itself.

Our big problem here will be how to overcome the social tensions and problems which this restructuring, upon which we are now working—the restructuring of one system into another system—will quite certainly bring to the surface. We are faced with a program for a period of time which will be most critical for the reforms because we are now emerging from assumptions and entering into their practical realization. This will require many different activities in many sectors.

Question: How do you see relations between Yugoslavia and the United State?

Ante Markovic: These relations have been very good for years. They are expressed not only in good inter-state and political cooperation and military cooperation, something relating especially to the transfer of technology, but also in exceptionally good cooperation in the financial sector as well as in the growth of commercial cooperation and trade.

It is our assessment that recently a certain mild reduction in the U.S. interest in Yugoslavia has come about, something which is probably the consequence of the fact that there is a view that in some parts of the world processes are going on more intensively than in our country. It seems to me that there is a wrong assessment here.

Question: How does Yugoslavia view the current events in the socialist countries: the USSR, Poland, Hungary, and the East German refugees?

Ante Markovic: It is obvious that the socialist system is in crisis and it is obvious that it is faced with, and in the process of, large-scale reforms. All these reforms begin, in one way or another, with economic reforms because it is here that the crisis is most strongly expressed. However, all these economic reforms clash, sooner or later, with the framework of the party-political system. The bigger the social reforms and the deeper the entrance into the reforms, the more this and these problems and contradictions and the clashing of the new progressive framework of the political system with the existing ones, are expressed. It is obvious that decisions are reached in the form of either this or that: either this existing system, the party-political system is halting these reforms, hampering them, disputing them and rejecting them or the reforms are transformed into a political reform and in this way into the reform of the whole system. These processes are stormy and they unfurl themselves in various ways and are different in each of these countries.

Question: In Yugoslavia "eruptions" are appearing in the national, political, and economic fields. How do you see the way out?

Ante Markovic: I think you have used a difficult expression because it is not a matter of an "eruption." It is a matter of the fact that in the reform process the changes which have come about in our society are not only radical but revolutionary. In this process of revolutionary changes a series of those often secondary phenomena come about which, if they become primary, could threaten the process itself. All at once they express themselves in the social sphere because social problems are very complex and they are easily politicized and the stuggle for power is built on them. A series of questions which previously had not been fully constructed both in national sovereignty and in the overall unity of our individual republics, have also had their impact on what has recently been happening in Yugoslavia. All this is an expression of the democratization of our society and, as an expression of this democratization, it has its own effects, which are of a transitional and transitory nature.

Question: Which are the biggest difficulties for you, bearing in mind that you have been prime minister for about 7 months?

Ante Markovic: The biggest problem facing this government, which is implementing this progressive reform in our country, is time. Unfortunately, it is time which is preventing us—at the same time as developing a new system, new policy, and new institutions of the system—from carrying out the adaptation of the existing institutions of the system to the new conditions of the system which it imposes. This in fact, greatly intensifies social problems because it is our assessment that in the present number of the employed, in the framework of the whole of our society, there are at least 20 percent too many employees. By adapting to the new system in which economic compulsion and economic categories will operate, they will have to be freed. We must develop sufficiently quickly the institutions of the system, which will accelerate this process. Without it there is no stopping inflation, and this means that we move from an inflationary financing of everything to a realistic financing of everything. On the other hand, we must

obtain funds for financial recovery, which are vital for individual sectors of our society, and from a third party have funds which will facilitate a rapid, new development structure, which we must develop in our country in the coming period. Therefore, the new developmental cycle is a precondition for our overcoming the social problems which will grow for us from day to day and for all this what is needed, amongst other things, is time.

Question: What foreign assistance, including assistance from the United States, is essential to Yugoslavia for the stabilization of the situation in Yugoslavia?

Ante Markovic: In the first place the processes in Yugoslavia should be understood. When they all understood, the progressive parts of the processes should be distinguished from the retrogressive, which are either conservative or dogmatic or ultra-left wing, or any other type of process which does not suit progressive processes.

The more progressive a process is and the more intensive its implementation, the greater the resistance. These Yugoslav trends should be understood and support should be given precisely to those progressive processes. It is by these that trends in Yugoslavia should be assessed, rather than by the retrogressive processes.

On the other hand, we need concrete support and assistance for the rehabilitation of the banking system. We have estimated how much assistance we need for this. We do not need assistance, but support of $1 billion. We also nees support for entering into a new cycle of development, based on a new structure which will be significantly more effective, oriented differently both from the point of view of quality and of inclusion in world trends. These are the three basic areas where we need understanding and support.

Question: What is the main purpose of your visit?

Ante Markovic: Just what I have been talking about, to make this clear and to see whether we can get any support, and what sort of support we can get, in this respect.

Question: What sort of position is Yugoslavia in in the world in 1989?

Ante Markovic: It is not exactly simple to answer that question. From the point of view of the internal problems we have had, the contradictions, social, national and nationalistic confrontations, there has been a certain amount that is negative in the assessments about Yugoslavia.

However, on the other hand, with the progressive changes it has entered into with the construction of a new system it has gained an increasing amount of support and an increasing importance in the world.

Thirdly, with its foreign policy Yugoslavia has greatly opened up toward the world. For example, 18 months ago 11 percent of total imports were liberalized, whereas now the figure is about 90 percent. In this respect, Yugoslavia is opening up toward the world.

Its opening toward the world and toward Europe, in particular, as well as its interest to establish links with certain integrational trends in Europe are a result of its internal needs, of the needs of its progressive development and of the forces responsible for that progressive development.

As you know, Yugoslavia recently exceptionally successfully organized a summit meeting of the nonaligned countries. In this way it not just reaffirmed the Nonaligned Movement itself by succeeding in modernizing it on the basis of its proposals and influence, but it also succeeded in modernizing itself and availing itself of the possibility to be in the forefront of that development due to its position in the movement over the next 3 years and to occupy a much more important position in the developments in the world.

Question: The burial of King Nikola took place 76 years after he had died. Why now?

Ante Markovic: This issue was not the federal government's concern. It was something concerning the Socialist Republic of Montenegro. This republic used to be an independent state and now it is a state within Yugoslavia. In other words, it was its decision alone, made within its own rights and competence. It would be best to talk about it with the Socialist Republic of Montenegro.

Question: There are ethnic disturbances in the country. What measures will the government take?

Ante Markovic: I do not think that I would describe it as you did. There are no ethnic disturbances in the country, only normal developments resulting from changes of whatever character: economic, social, national, or republican. There are no disturbances which would require special intervention; if such incidents are to happen they would simply be resolved as before, by the methods usually used by the civilized and cultured world. Yugoslavia is in the process of building a democratic system based on human rights. Providing human freedoms with an opportunity to come to the fore must not be mistaken for something destructive. At the same time, an isolated case in which individual parts of the country seeks to promote their interests must not, in my opinion, be viewed as destructive. This is how we see it. I think that nothing is happening in the country that indicates the need for any kind of measures but the regular ones. At the moment there are no developments of this kind.

U.S. 'Welcomes' Reforms

AU0910193289 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 9 Oct 89

[Text] State Department officials support Yugoslavia's orientation toward the market economy and welcome reforms in this direction. The United States will continue to carefully monitor the observation of human

rights in Yugoslavia. This was stated in an official statement by the U.S. department issued prior to the visit by Ante Markovic, president of the Federal Executive Council, to the United States. Here is a report from Washington by our correspondent Dusan Zupan:

The U.S. side does not expect spectacular results from the Washington visit by Ante Markovic, president of the Federal Executive Council, but is of the opinion that the very fact that this visit is taking place is confirmation of good relations between the two countries.

A TANJUG correspondent was told in the State Department that reforms that have been started in Yugoslavia have been seen here with approval, especially the efforts made to create the market economy, and that these efforts will be met with corresponding support. Otherwise, U.S.-Yugoslav relations are seen in Washington as stable despite certain clouds such as the actions in the U.S. Congress, or the recent trial of Consul Bjedic.

The U.S. diplomats are of the opinion that these events were given more attention in our country than they deserve, but at the same time they say that the situation in Yugoslavia will continue to be carefully followed here, especially the situation concerning human rights.

The U.S. officials expect Ante Markovic to brief them on the nonaligned summit that was recently held in Belgrade. The summit's results, and particularly documents which did not contain the usual anti-U.S. rhetoric, aroused interest here which will obviously be expressed during the U.S.-Yugoslav talks.

Arrives in New York 9 Oct

LD1010062389 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0604 GMT 10 Oct 89

[Text] New York, Oct 10 (TANJUG)—Yugoslav premier Ante Markovic arrived in New York on Monday evening for his five-day visit to the United States.

While in the U.S., Premier Markovic will hold talks with top-ranking personalities in the American administration, Congress, and business and financial institutions.

On Friday, Premier Markovic, as is expected, will be received by President George Bush. In Washington, he will confer also with Secretary of State James Baker and with representatives of the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank.

In New York today, Premier Markovic will have talks with members of the American Council for International Relations and with members of the American-Yugoslav Economic Council.

Meets With Yugoslav Businessmen

LD1010100989 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0508 GMT 10 Oct 89

[Text] New York 10 Oct (TANJUG)—Federal Executive Council President Ante Markovic arrived last night, on a regular Yugoslav Airlines plane, in New York, for a 5-day visit to the United States in the framework of which he will also stay in Washington. The Yugoslav premier proved that this is an exclusively working visit at the very outset because, so to speak, he pressed on from the plane to a scheduled meeting with Yugoslav businessmen who work in the biggest U.S. city. He had talks with them for over 2 hours on the scope for selling Yugoslav products on the U.S. market.

Markovic was above all interested in why the Yugoslav economy is falling behind on the richest market in the world for the second consecutive year, and is achieving poorer export results than predicted. About 48 Yugoslav companies are registered in New York, and for the most part they have merited this because last year goods and services valued at $485 million were exported to the U.S. market, and in the first 9 months this year [the figure is] $452 million. However, they also bear responsibility for the fact that only 57 percent of this year's plan has been carried out so far and for the fact that the planned value of exports of $784 million wil certainly not be achieved.

The assessment of the businessmen is that our inflation and internal political discord have had the effect of reducing the confidence of U.S. partners. Those who are planning joint ventures or investment in our economy are waiting for things in Yugoslavia, as they put it, to clear up politically. Ante Markovic stressed that our businessmen ought to be more active in this market, put forward more concrete programs to U.S. investors, and be prepared for changed business conditions which the economic reforms will bring with them.

Giving statistics on economic developments, Markovic stressed that Yugoslavia is not seeking concessions from its partners but equal cooperation. According to Markovic, Yugoslavia is not seeking help, but support for what it intends to do, and for this it needs an additional capital injection [akumulacija] which it itself is not capable of making. Hence it is seeking partners who will make this possible by their investments and equal cooperation accompanied by mutual benefit. Yugoslavia has already met with such an understanding among many European partners, above all the FRG and Italy. Ante Markovic will today have talks with the chairmen of the big U.S. companies, Coca Cola, PAN AM, Texaco, and others.

Talks With U.S. Companies

LD1110105289 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2332 GMT 10 Oct 89

[Text] New York, Oct 10 (TANJUG)—Yugoslav prime minister Ante Markovic spent the entire first day of his visit to the United States informing his hosts about the essence of the economic reform being implemented in Yugoslavia and the new possibilities the reform offered for the development of U.S.-Yugoslav economic cooperation.

During the day, Markovic held talks with members of the New York Council for International Relations, an

influential political body, composed of former politicians, university professors and major businessmen who have a strong influence on the formation of U.S. interior and foreign policies. Markovic also held talks with former U.S. secretary of State Henry Kissinger, who now heads a major consulting firm and enjoys a good reputation in American business circles. The Yugoslav prime minister also held talks with a group of some 20 directors of leading U.S. companies which cooperate with Yugoslav enterprises.

A common point of all the talks Markovic held was the Yugoslav prime minister's message to U S. partners that Yugoslavia embarked on the path of fundamental changes of its economic system so deeply that there was a turning back and that it presently needed support and cooperation more than assistance. This implies foreign investments and financial shots in the form of investments in the development of Yugoslavia's banking system.

It seems that the Yugoslav prime minister was successful in his attempts to convince his hosts that Yugoslavia met all the preconditions for a fundamental economic reform and the introduction of purely market-oriented relations, on the basis of division of ownership, modern banking and stock exchange transactions, with clear profit considerations both for those who invest capital and for those who use it for development.

Members of the Council for International Relations asked numerous questions, but were above all interested in the course of reform interventions and possible concrete results.

Former Head of the State Department Henry Kissinger also showed interest in the course of the economic reform in Yugoslavia, expressing the opinion that it had infinitely greater chances of being implemented successfully than the reforms currently under way in some East European countries and the Soviet Union. Comparing the present trends in Poland and Hungary with the events in Yugoslavia, despite the fact that the former receive greater coverage in the U.S., Kissinger concluded that the Yugoslav interventions were much deeper and gave realistic chances of carrying out a fundamental restructuring of economic trends.

Finally, Markovic's collocutors from a recent meeting of U.S. and Yugoslav businessmen in Cavtat, Yugoslavia, gathered for lunch at the New York Intercontinental today, as well as representatives of major U.S. companies and banks doing business with Yugoslavia, expressed full confidence in the Yugoslav government's moves towards economic reform and market orientation of the economy. Markovic openly invited them to back their confidence by investing in joint ventures.

It seems that the U.S. side in the talks received firm evidence that Yugoslavia was totally committed to persevering in the current reform interventions and that Yugoslavia was a partner who can and must be trusted. Markovic tomorrow leaves for Washington, where he will hold a new round of talks with many officials, including President Bush, heads of international financial institutions such as the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund, and representatives of big business corporations. Before leaving New York, Markovic will meet with directors of New York banks which have business relations with Yugoslavia.

Talks With U.S. Bankers

LD1110202489 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1844 GMT 11 Oct 89

[Text] New York, October 11 (TANJUG)—American banks should not ask for super guarantees which are expensive and additionally burden the Yugoslav economy in order to open new credit lines for Yugoslavia which has a high level of external liquidity—Yugoslav Premier Ante Markovic said today in a talk with the directors of some fifteen major American commercial banks which do business with Yugoslavia.

In an earlier talk at the Manufacturers Hanover Trust, the bank which coordinates the work of American banks in business with Yugoslavia, Markovic pointed to the Yugoslav foreign exchange reserves which stand at 5.5 billion dollars, the four billion dollars repayed of the foreign debt in the past year, which reduced it to 16 billion dollars, as well as the rapid rise of Yugoslav exports, which reached a monthly rate of 30 percent in the past two months.

American bankers were interested in the moves of the Yugoslav Government to realize the economic reform and join the world market, especially the recently adopted laws in the (?arm of) banking, credits and finances.

Markovic underscored that Yugoslavia requires a financial boost from abroad to the amount of one billion dollars in order to sum up its internal debts and place its banking system on a sound basis.

The interest shown by the bankers today indicates that this support can be expected.

Arrives in Washington

LD1210055489 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0500 GMT 12 Oct 89

[Text] Washington, October 11 (TANJUG)—Yugoslav Premier Ante Markovic arrived in Washington this afternoon, where he will have intensive talks with high government officials, congressmen and leaders of international financial institutions on Thursday and Friday.

The American Government, as stated, has a favourable opinion on the economic reforms in Yugoslavia, but, when asked directly by journalists, its representatives did not not state whether support in principle will be followed also by concrete decisions.

During the first stage of his visit, in New York, Markovic underscored that Yugoslavia is not asking its American business partners for any concessions, but for cooperation on an equal basis and to the mutual benefit.

Markovic's meetings, especially with President George Bush and Secretary of State James Baker, will be an opportunity to reach a joint assessment of the current state of affairs between the two countries, which has lately had certain ups and downs.

It is expected that the situation regarding human rights in Yugoslavia will also be on the agenda during talks with representatives of the administration and congressmen, and it has been announced that talks will also deal with international topics, especially the September non-aligned summit in Belgrade.

A press conference has been scheduled for Thursday morning at the National Press Club, because of interest in Washington for the stands of the Yugoslav Government and Markovic personally. As learned, several American dailies have also asked to interview the Yugoslav premier.

Talks With Mosbacher

LD1210204489 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1835 GMT 12 Oct 89

[Text] Washington, Oct 12 (TANJUG)—Yugoslav Prime Minister Ante Markovic and U.S. Trade Minister Robert Mosbacher met here today and observed that bilateral economic exchange is out of proportion of both countries desires and potentials.

In this connection they discussed the possibility of increasing Yugoslavia's participation in this country's trade from 0.2 per cent to 0.6 per cent, that is to equal Yugoslavia's share of world trade.

Markovic asked that the United States reconsider its anti-dumping procedures against Yugoslav goods. He also said that Yugoslavia is interested not only in the preservation of existing preferentials but in their extention to other goods.

The two sides agreed to raise the quota for Yugoslav iron and metallurgy products to 50,000 tonnes as well as to increase the import quota for Yugoslav textile products.

Mosbacher raised the question of the protection of intellectual property in Yugoslavia, in which the United States has been interested for a long time. Markovic replied that the Yugoslav Assembly is working on a new law in this domain.

Holds News Conference

LD1210222189 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2116 GMT 12 Oct 89

[Text] Washington, October 12 (TANJUG)—My delegation has come not to seek aid from the American side but to call the attention of prospective partners to their own interest and mutual benefits from investment money in Yugoslavia's economy, visiting Yugoslav Prime Minister Ante Markovic told newsmen at the National Press Club here on Thursday.

Markovic noted that economic exchanges in the world were rising intensively, while stagnating or even slowly declining with the United States. His visit was therefore aimed at an expansion of Yugoslavia's economic relations with the United States.

Prime Minister Markovic explained the difference between the aid requested by Poland and the backing Yugoslavia was expecting through joint ventures and foreign capital investments in it. Yugoslavia needs the one-billion-dollar backing sought during the visit for reform of its banking system, he said.

Markovic recalled that Yugoslavia is a co-founder of the International Monetary Fund and World Bank with which it successfully cooperates, and pointed out that this year it paid back 575 million dollars to the IMF without receiving a single dollar from it. "Now you see who helps whom," he remarked on a joking manner.

Markovic described Yugoslavia's social and political problems, including nationalism, as "secondary effects of a positive process" and stressed that all guarantees exist for the new system to function throughout the country.

An integral market based on pluralism must lead to political pluralism, emphasized Markovic, and said that this was part of the process Yugoslavia had entered into deeply. We urge the existance of a legal function of the state protecting the market and the autonomy of its subjects as well as the rights and freedoms of every man, he said.

On the 9th nonaligned summit in Belgrade last September, Markovic said it has reaffirmed the policy of nonalignment, while the documents it adopted respond pragmatically to contemporary world problems.

An incident occurred before the Yugoslav prime minister entered the hall. Slav dissident Dobroslav Paragan, who at a time stood trial in Yugoslavia for nationalism and for falsifying a petition to the authorities, was distributing a pamphlet to journalists alleging he and ethnic Albanians had been maltreated in Yugoslavia.

At the request of a representative of the Yugoslav Embassy, Paragan was removed by the organizers.

Meets With Bank Heads

LD1310053189 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2316 GMT 12 Oct 89

[Text] Washington, October 12 (TANJUG)—President of Export-Import Bank of the United States John Macomber on Thursday expressed the bank's readiness

to initiate closer economic and financial cooperation between the United States and Yugoslavia and thus back Yugoslav reforms.

Macomber made the statement in a talk with Yugoslav Prime Minister Ante Markovic, now in a third day of his visit to the United States.

Markovic today also met with President of World Bank Barber Conable, who is understood to have put forward proposals on how the bank could more efficiently help Yugoslav reforms.

The series of talks on Yugoslavia's cooperation with international financial institutions will continue during Markovic's scheduled meetings with Director of the International Monetary Fund Jean-Michel Camdessus today and tomorrow.

Pancevski Confers With Cypriot AKEL Officials

LD1010123889 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1006 GMT 10 Oct 89

[Text] Belgrade, 10 Oct (TANJUG)—Milan Pancevski, president of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia [LCY] Central Committee Presidium, has had talks with Dhimitrios Khristofias, secretary general of the Restorative Party of the Working People [AKEL], who is in our country at the invitation of the LCY Central Committee Presidium.

In cordial and friendly talks there was an exhaustive exchange of views on the most important international questions and on the activities of the two parties in the internal sphere.

Primary attention was devoted to the situation in Cyprus and ways of resolving the Cypriot problem. Here both sides expressed completely identical viewpoints.

Setting out the view of Cypriot communists on this question, Khristofias said that they are for a federal system in Cyprus on the basis of equality between the Greek and Turkish communities, who should arrive at such a solution through direct negotiations.

Pancevski stressed that the LCY fully agrees with the stands of the ninth summit conference of the nonaligned countries on Cyprus, and declares itself in favor of preserving the independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity, unity, and nonaligned status of the Republic of Cyprus. From this point of view the LCY fully supports the people of Cyprus and the AKEL Party of Cyprus, and condemns one-sided separatist acts and the infringement of human rights in Cyprus.

Participating in the talks were Dr Aleksandar Sekulovic, leader of the LCY Central Committee's section of international cooperation; Dhonis Khristofinis, member of the Political Bureau of the AKEL Central Committee; and Dr Andrestinos Papadhopoulos, ambassador of the Republic of Cyprus.

Human Rights Committee Set Up in Zagreb

AU0710204589 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 28 Sep 89 p 8

[Seada Vranic report: "Neither in Opposition Nor 'Following the Line'"]

[Text] Zagreb, 27 Sep—The Committee for Human Rights and Democratic Freedoms of Citizens was set up today under the auspices of the Socialist Alliance of Croatia, whose basic task is to use its moral and expert authority to act toward expanding people's rights and freedoms and protecting them. Thirty-seven scientific, cultural, and public workers joined the committee and will carry out their activities voluntarily. Because the members of the committee decided that their activities should first of all be defined, the leaders will not be elected until later. There was the unanimous opinion that this committee should cooperate with the Yugoslav Forum for Human Rights and with similar interethnic or national organizations in other states.

The question that was asked at the very beginning of the discussion was what kind of status this committee would have and how much maneuverability there would be, since it has been set up under the auspices of the Republican Conference of the Socialist Alliance of Working People of Croatia. Thus, Dr Zvonko Lerotic asked if this would be a transmission belt, that is to say, if the Socialist Alliance of Working People, which has so far been under the wing of the League of Communists, would direct the work of this committee. The question was also asked of whether this would be some kind of opposition to the official organs or whether it would be a "committee of conscience," which would allow it to have not only a separate position, but would give it a certain aura of untouchability.

The view prevailed that the committee should be independent in its work, which does not exclude the possibility of it at some time finding itself with its stands opposing the official stands of politicians, but also "following the line" of the organs in some of its other activities. Nevertheless, the most important thing—as Josip Jovic said—is for the committee to be on the other side of ideology and politics and to attempt to affirm some traditional moral values, in which respect it will not depend solely on the subjective feeling of morality, but also on scientific facts.

There was also an interesting discussion about its field of activity. Lawyer Ratko Zuric expressed the fear that the committee could be turned into a "mailbox" for the troubles of the people, which would burden and obstruct its work. He thought that this should be the place where one would attempt to speak about those subjects and problems from the field of rights and freedoms which are the most important ones at any given moment, or, as academician Dusan Calic put it—the committee should be concerned with every issue in which it assesses that human rights and freedoms could and should be expanded.

Several committee members, including Zorica Stipetic, Nenad Prelog, Dragan Kolarevic, Joza Vlahovic, Ema Derosi, and Mustafa Ceric, stressed the active role that the committee could play among the public, spreading awareness about human rights and freedoms and the necessity of protecting them, and creating new opportunities.

We should say finally that the discussion began with an interesting proposal by Dr Slaven Letica. He read aloud the short text of a statement and suggested to the committee members that they sign it, but beforehand he suggested that they should think about it for 10 seconds. The statement says that by joining the committee, each member confirms with his signature that in his previous public, professional, and private life he has not consciously undermined human and civil rights or the freedom of intellectual creation and the free political activity of individuals and social groups.

This part of the discussion that was initiated by Letica, with the explanation that his proposal had a symbolic-ritual meaning, introduced an element of relaxation to today's work of the committee and the proposal was not interpreted as an attempt to establish a moral criterion for joining the committee.

Assembly's Constitution Decision Viewed

AU0910101089 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 30 Sep-1 Oct 89 p 11

[Commentary by Milan Rakas, director of BORBA: "Two Tests of Delegates' Yugoslavism"]

[Text] The true socialist self-managing Yugoslavism of the delegates of the SFRY Assembly recently found itself being tried and tested in two great and difficult examinations.

We are talking about the orientation toward the disputed amendments to the Constitution of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia and the adoption of the long-heralded complete program of economic measures of the Federal Executive Council in creating conditions for the functioning of a market economy and for an effective struggle against inflation.

On Thursday, the delegates successfully passed one examination: Protecting the SFRY Constitution. Besides the expected demand that the SFRY Constitutional Court examine the constitutionality of the amendments to the Constitution of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia in relation to the SFRY Constitution, the delegates rightly, although for some "political leaderships" in the republics unexpectedly, demanded that the SFRY Constitutional Court examine the compatibility of amendments to the constitutions of all republics with the SFRY Constitution.

For a justification of this expanded decision by the delegates of the Federal Chamber of the SFRY Assembly, it is sufficient to recall some of the most recent open quarrels about the constitutional amendments of certain republics which, with provisions on the national statehood of the nations whose name the republics bear, have in practical terms put the other inhabitants of these republics in the position of second-class citizens when it comes to political equality. This expanded delegate demand was confirmed in the existence of the provision on the use of languages in the amendments that were adopted to the Constitution of the Socialist Republic of Croatia, for which the Yugoslav Constitutional Court has already stated once that it is at variance with the provisions in the SFRY Constitution on the equality of all languages in Yugoslavia. Without prejudicing the outcome, it can be expected that the SFRY Constitutional Court, in a string of examples, will show how far matters have departed in the creation of fetishes from national republican statehoods outside the contents of the SFRY Constitution.

Although it is well-known that the implementation of the decision by the SFRY Constitutional Court on the contradictions of the constitution of the republics and provinces depends solely on the will of the republican and provincial assemblies which endorsed these constitutions, after the stormy political events surrounding the adoption of the amendments to the Constitution of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia, the decision by the SFRY Constitutional Court on the latest assessment and the questions of whether the constitutions of the republics and provinces are in line with the SFRY Constitution, will nevertheless have great importance for the future survival and integrity of Yugoslavia. That is to say, the republican or provincial assembly which, in this tumultuous time for the survival of Yugoslavia, refuses to bring its constitution in line with the SFRY Constitution, objectively opens up the process of extraordinary circumstances in the country. The act of refusal by a certain republican assembly to implement the decisions of the SFRY Constitutional Court will most directly mean in the present situation that all political means have been exhausted for resolving the provoked state of emergency in which the unity and integrity of Yugoslavia would be undermined. It is clear, and this must be openly said to the public in order to avoid manipulation of the people, that anyone who causes such circumstances that are dangerous for the integrity of the country and rejects the regular legal political means for solving such extraordinary circumstances, bears the current and historical responsibility for solving such circumstances by introducing emergency measures which are undesirable in any democratic country, but they must be applied and are applied in the whole of the civilized world when all other political and legal means for protecting the constitutional order have been exhausted.

Thus, the conclusion of the delegates of the Federal Chamber of the SFRY Assembly which demands an examination of the compatibility of all the constitutions of the republics and provinces with the SFRY Constitution, has great significance because possibilities and opportunities are thus opened up for all those, not only

in the Socialist Republic of Slovenia but also in other communities, who in the name of democracy rightly shy away from solving problems with emergency measures and use political legal means in their communities to eliminate those causes which provoke extraordinary circumstances in the country. Only in this way can the exclusive opponents of emergency measures avoid historic responsibility for all the consequences of the possible emergency measures which would be applied in extraordinary circumstances that are caused by these "big shots" and their followers.

The second, no less important test of the true Yugoslav orientation of the SFRY Assembly delegates is the program of the latest measures by Ante Markovic and the Federal Executive Council that he leads.

It is obvious from the first "taking" of pulses in the discussion in the assembly committees that many delegates are caught between the support that Ante Markovic and members of the Federal Executive Council recently received in talks with 200 of the most prominent Yugoslav businessmen at the Zagreb fair, and the instructions that the delegates have received and receive daily from their republican "leaderships." Through these spectacles of the "republican leaderships" certain delegates still view the measures of the Federal Executive Council from positions of narrow republican and narrower regional interests.

Let us hope that today's reasoned report by Ante Markovic on the proposed economic measures will help the delegates and encourage them to use their stands to remain resolute on the positions of the Yugoslav businessmen because these businessmen, with the workers class, will have to bear the greatest burden in realizing the measures of the Federal Executive Council that the Assembly will adopt. If such a positive denouncement takes place in the SFRY Assembly in the process of discussion and the adoption of the new measures of the Federal Executive Council, it can be said with satisfaction that at the current session of the SFRY Assembly, separatism both in politics and economics has finally been dealt an effective blow.

Let us hope that in these fateful days for the Yugoslav socialist self-managing community, the delegates of the assembly will not miss the opportunity to successfully pass these two great and difficult tests in their Yugoslav orientation.

Potrc Interviewed on Slovene Amendments

LD0810022189 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1357 GMT Oct 89

[Text] Skopje, 7 Oct (TANJUG): Most Yugoslavs would think differently about the Siovene amendments if they had been objectively and truthfully informed. If conditions had been created for an objective, peaceful discussion about the real facts and if a climate had not been created [suggesting] that Slovenia is against Yugoslavia, the vast majority of people would today have completely different views. This was stated in an exclusive interview for the Skopje paper, VECER, by Miran Potrc, Slovenian Socialist Republic [SR] Assembly President.

I am an optimist and believe that reason and human honesty will win out, and we will be able to discuss all this in peace, but also because in ½ a year the situation will be completely different, Potrc said.

I do not have the feeling that Yugoslavia is against us. We are receiving many telegrams from all over the country, signed with a first name and a last name, from people who do not think we have done something against Yugoslavia and against its interests.

Stressing that he does not understand the stormy reactions against the Slovene amendments, Potrc said that they are yet further proof that we are not a law-governed state and that in our country politics is still above the law and that we are not ready to respect the Constitution which we have adopted, regardless of whether we are satisfied with it or not.

It is completely untrue, Potrc said, that it is also being said in many federal organs that the hampering of the authority and duties of the federal state and its organs will come about.

In the meantime, in Potrc's opinion, a new situation has been created, so that what we have been saying day by day is being confiremd, that the legal order and the responsibilities of the federation have not been brought into question. We made the assertion from the very 1st day. An unhealthy climate has been created by those who told people that the adoption of the amendments would disturb relations in Yugoslavia. If someone had told that to the Slovenes, they would also have been worried, said Potrc. If these things are being said by responsible political and state organs, then people will of course be set thinking. However, no one was in a position to read everything, and many things were not objectively presented to the Yugolsav public. Today the amendments are still being interpreted incorrectly and some are doing this intentionally.

Many organs made assessments without knowing the content of the Slovene amendments, stressed Potrc. He said that he nevertheless believed that the Federal Assembly could not be manipulated. It is up to the Federal Chamber to give the most serious consideration to whether it is a good thing, without any adequate material, or its own information, to make assessments purely on the basis of its understanding of the amendments, and to do this at a session convened almost overnight. This is not good for the standing of the Federal Assembly.

Potrc said that he thought the same in the case of the League of Communists Central Committee, particularly because Yugoslavia is facing serious problems which cannot be resolved hastily, at hastily convened sessions and discussions without reasoned argument. This is a bad practice and does not lead to anything positive.

The constitutional crisis in Yugoslavia has not been brought about by the Slovene amendments. It exists in the country because the constitution of the SFRY is not being respected, warned Miran Potrc at the end of his interview for the Skopje VECER.

Croatian Social Liberal Alliance News Conference

AU0810205089 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 21 Sep 89 p 3

[S. Vranic report: "Abolish Crimes of Thought"]

[Text] Zagreb, 20 Sep—The Croatian Social Liberal Alliance has protested against the trials of Azem Vlasi and Jovan Opacic and also against all other political trials over what they call crimes of thought. At the same time, the Alliance condemns the measures (suspension and so forth) taken against the Novi Sad DNEVNIK journalist Tomislav Marcinko, and has given him full support as a member of the Alliance.

These few sentences indicate the central theme of today's press conference held by the Executive Committee of the Croatian Social Liberal Alliance to define its stand over different kinds of political repression, but they also show the dramatic character of the general political situation in Croatia and the position of the Croatian Social Liberal Alliance, which has not been allowed to register 5 months after its inaugural conference. Bozo Kovacevic, deputy chairman of the Executive Committee, and Dr Slavko Goldstajn, president of the Alliance, spoke to the journalists.

Pointing out the peculiar game of pingpong being played over the Alliance's registration, Bozo Kovacevic said that the Alliance, thwarted in its desire to register, has exposed the duplicity of the state, which says it is in favor of democracy, but does not stand by its words. (We note that the Alliance has expressed its readiness to work within the Socialist Alliance of Working People and to be one of its members.)

He also underlined that the Alliance has offered an initiative to overcome the present turbulent political situation and, like other "alternative partners," has been ready to join in the search for solutions; however, the government in Croatia turns a deaf ear to all of this. One thing is sure, he said: It is not easy, in the present difficult situation, to put up with all of the open and aggressive attacks on Croatia.

Dr Slavko Goldstajn went on to inform journalists of the initiative that "the alternative scene should 'unite'," as in Slovenia, in finding ways of interpersonal communication among the different alternative groups and alliances. This initiative is, at present, at the stage of "private talks," and to the extent that conclusions have been reached, they point to a coordination of alternative groups throughout Yugoslavia.

The representatives of the Alliance were asked various questions, including why Dr Zvonko Lerotic, the chairman of the Executive Committee, had tendered his resignation, with four other members, or more than one-half of the committee, expressing their solidarity with him. The reply was that it was a case of tactical differences concerning how they were to proceed, and that Lerotic had "erred" in failing to summon the Executive Committee for no less than 3 months. This reply led to the question, or rather comment, of a member of the Executive Committee of the Student Branch of the Croatian Social Liberal Alliance, who remarked that the Alliance had postponed its assembly in order to preserve its power, and also reproached the Executive Committee for failing to speak out in the case of the trial of Ivan Zvonimir Cicak, who had been supposedly persecuted over alleged tax offenses, but actually for political reasons. Goldstajn replied that the view that they had postponed the assembly in order to preserve their power was unfounded, and that as far as Cicak and his case were concerned, the Alliance's condemnation of all political trials in principle, wherever they take place, held firm.

We report that there were also questions posed to Tomislav Marcinko (who was also present at today's press conference) to clarify the incident of his suspension, to which he replied that he did not care very much about what was said and written about him in particular, because he merely shared the fate of 25,000 other people who are suffering today because of their political stands and their disagreement with official policy. Asked how he had reached this figure, he replied that there are no official data, but said that he had mentioned the lowest figure current among the public opinion in Vojvodina.

One More Appeal

The communique of the Presidium of the Society for Yugoslav-European Cooperation was also issued to journalists at today's conference, protesting against the trials of Azem Vlasi and Jovan Opacic.

In its appeal, the Society demanded that all political prisoners be released, that investigations against all those suspected of political offenses be dropped, that all references to political crimes be removed from the Criminal Code, that all political trials in Yugoslavia since the war be declared invalid, and that material compensation be given to all postwar political prisoners or their families.

Bogicevic Calls for Economic, Political Reform

LD1110092989 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2100 GMT 10 Oct 89

[Text] Sarajevo, Oct 10 (TANJUG)—Yugoslavia must reform its economic and political system in line with international experiences about efficient business practices and political liberties if it is to prevent its disintegration, member of the state Presidency Bogic Bogicevic said here today.

Bogicevic (37), the (?youngest) member of the eight-man presidency representing the Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina, warned however that reformist and democratic processes in the country were in danger.

On the one hand they are opposed by people (?who) are happy with the status they have [word indistinct] Bogicevic said. On the other, they are those who are taking advantage of the wave of justified popular anger at the situation in Yugoslavia and are using every means at their disposal to change current relations to suit their (?ideological and partial] [word indistinct] interests, he added.

Unless we create a genuine [words indistinct] in Yugoslavia we can kiss changes (?good bye, he said.) All sorts of [words indistinct] appear in the role [words indistinct] and quasi reformists, (?offering), instead of a sound dialogue and a legal state, repression, nonfreedom, (?contention) and tyranny, he said

Bogicevic concluded that neither an ideology pulling the country towards separatism and confederalism nor one offering centralism and unitarism was a solution to the Yugoslav multi-ethnic community.

Democratic Groups Issue 'Special Statement'

LD0910163289 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1223 GMT 9 Oct 89

[Text] Ljubljana, 9 Oct (TANJUG)—At yesterday's meeting of representatives of the democratic movements, that is those from Croatia, Slovenia, and Serbia held in Otocec near Novo Mesto, a special statement was promulgated, stating that "the urgently needed transformation of the SFRY, as a condition for its emergence from the present crisis, is only possible if we stick to certain basic achievements of our civilization."

Included among these achievements are the guaranteeing of all the rights derived from the spiritual and physical inviolability of the individual—from the comprehensive and equal right to vote in free and secret elections, social security, the right of association, to free access to all activities in public, political and economic life, and the guaranteed inviolability of all forms of ownership. The federal state's rights are endorsed by agreement, that is by a consensus between the republics and the provinces in all spheres of political, state, economic and legal legislature and practice. It is stressed in the statement that in keeping with "the proclaimed principles full support is given to the Republic of Slovenia and its constitutional reform. Every other republic has the same right as well. At the same time we energeticaly condemn all the attempts to undermine through pressures the rights of the Slovene Republic since this would amount to undermining the rights of all the other republics and provinces.

The statement calls for "urgent legal and political legalization of all democratic initiatives, movements and parties, unrestricted access to the media, the social financing of social services and for participation in elections on equal terms."

At the same time the urgent abolition of the legal provisions on verbal offences pardoning all political prisoners, freeing those imprisoned, and absolving those who are about to go on trial, was also demanded.

At the end of the statement it is demanded that "all the measures and activities that are the condition for the SFRY joining the European Community be taken. The statement was signed by the representatives of 13 democratic movements and initiatives from Croatia, Slovenia, Serbia and Bosnia-Hercegovina. At the same time it is stressed that signatures under this statement can "also be added on later occasions."

Democratic Initiative Branches Growing

LD1110192589 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1521 GMT 11 Oct 89

[Text] Sarajevo, 11 Oct (TANJUG)—At a session in Sarajevo today the coordinating Committee for the Activities of Social Organizations and Citizens' Associations of the Bosnia-Hercegovina Socialist Alliance of Working People Republican Conference gave its support, in principle, to the initiative to set up branches of the Yugoslav Democratic Initiative in Sarajevo, Mostar, and Konjic. In order to give these forms of activity an opportunity to function, changes are needed in the law regulating citizens' associations and social organizations.

It was clearly stated at today's session that the freedom of association could not be made conditional upon anything except when the activity of such associations is contrary to the main values of our society.

United Democratic Initiative To Expand to Bosnia

AU1210164689 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 12 Oct 89

[Text] The Republican Conference of the Socialist Alliance of Working People of Bosnia-Hercegovina has granted its approval of the creation of branches of the United Democratic Initiative. The Sarajevo branch does not plan to work under the umbrella of the Socialist Alliance. Ljubomir Nikolic provides more details about the news from Sarajevo:

Something, which was until recently unthinkable here, has happened. The green light for creating branches of the United Democratic Initiative in Sarajevo, Mostar, and Konjic has been given by the most official body, the Republican Conference of the Socialist Alliance of Working People of Bosnia-Hercegovina. While the Mostar and Konjic branches stated they will work within the Socialist Alliance, the Sarajevo branch, with writer Abdulah Sidran at its head, has explicitly said that it does not want to.

After the Republican Conference's Coordination Committee for the Activity of Social Organizations and Citizens' Associations has made its decision, there will be no obstacle to the respective bodies' approving the work of all three branches and, of course, any new ones that may appear.

It is interesting that the approval has been issued at the moment when opposition to the democratization of political life is still strong in Bosnia-Hercegovina and when many people are speaking out against political pluralism, not to mention the multiparty system.

Dina Residovic, president of the Republican Conference, told us today that the documents of the United Democratic Initiative, the Manifesto and the Statute, contain nothing which is at variance with the Constitution and the existing regulations. On the other hand, Dina Residovic added, laws pertaining to the activity of social organizations and citizens' associations are very restrictive and in some points even anti-constitutional. Therefore, an initiative was started here to change these laws and to adjust them to the present times and new democratic processes in our society.

There was one more event in Sarajevo which speaks of changes in behavior and in views about major political events. Today the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Bosnia-Hercegovina carried out the promotion of advertising material for the forthcoming 10th republican party congress. Instead of the usual cliched symbols and messages, one could see modern things, including the ecological bag [ekoloska torba] and the poster and emblem of the congress, that in no way resemble the past.

Election Candidates Protest Situation in Kula

LD0810162989 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1059 GMT 8 Oct 89

[Excerpts] Crvenka, 8 Oct (TANJUG)—All 31 candidates from Crvenka and Nova Crvenka for LC [League of Communists] organs and bodies, from the municipal committee to the LCY Central Committee have decided to withdraw their candidature. At last night's meeting of the Crvenka LC action conference presidium they concluded that, after the stormy events and strikes in four factories in Kula Municipality last week, the configuration of forces in the LC municipal organization is such that everything which has been done over the past year in the struggle against the policy of excessive autonomy in this region has been seriously brought into question.

Communists from Crvenka and Nova Crvenka and candidates for the most responsible posts believe that the departure of the LC Municipal Committee Presidium members from these places, under the pressure of the strikes, has created—intentionally—room for the return of defeated forces. Hence, by withdrawing their candidature, they in fact wish to point out this danger. [passage omitted]

The Kula LC Municipal Committee has been informed of the withdrawal of the candidates. It is expected that this collective withdrawal of candidatures will cause fresh turmoil in the Kula municipality and that the holding of the extraordinary conference of the LC municipal organization, scheduled for 10 October, has been brought most seriously into question.